



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-94-094  
Monday  
16 May 1994

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16 May 1994

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Burundi

### Interim President, Army Officers Meet, Discuss Security

EA1405171594 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 13 May 94

[Excerpts] The interim president of the Republic today held a meeting with officers of Bujumbura garrison. The meeting, which was attended by Prime Minister Anatole Kanyenkiko and National Defense Minister Lieutenant Colonel Gedeon Fyiroko, was on security and the Armed Forces' attitude during the current crisis in Burundi. Marie-Josée Niyonzima reports:

[Niyonzima] These are the points on which the interim president of the Republic's message focused on during the meeting with Bujumbura garrison officers: a neutral army, a loyal army, an army which guarantees citizens' freedom, the creation of an army and a national gendarmerie which reassures all the communities in the society.

It was his first contact since the death of President Cyprien Ntaryamira over a month ago. [passage omitted]

Regarding the disarming of armed groups in the country, Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya once again issued directives.

[Begin Ntibantunganya recording] Regarding the armed groups who are an obstacle to security in the country, the government cannot accept the emergence of secret armed groups inside the country. The government urges the national Armed Forces to combat them and asks them to adhere to discipline and loyalty towards the government's decision on disarmament. We, however, remind the Armed Forces that in this operation they must scrupulously respect the directives of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces which are as follows:

First, the disarmament operation must be carefully prepared to prevent any problems. It must be conducted in close cooperation with the local administrative authorities to avoid any human or material damage. [passage indistinct] Fourth and last, we must keep in mind that disarmament is not an end in itself, but rather a precondition for peace and security to be undertaken through a plan as yet undefined and a study of how to tackle the following essential issue (often used) as alibis for certain actions: opening up and extending the armed forces to all the ethnic components of our country. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

### Calm Noted in Areas; Overcrowding, Disease Reported

EA1505203694 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 15 May 94

[Monitored in progress]

[Excerpt] ... The third item on the agenda of the weekly ministerial meeting was on the assessment of the operation of restoring peace and security and was presented by the minister of territorial administration.

Regarding the Bujumbura mayorship, he noted that the recently conducted disarmament operation in the suburbs north of the Ntahangwa River restored a certain calm. It created conditions for the return of peace which can be seen in the return of the people to their homes, busy marketplaces, notably those of Kinama and Gase-nyi, as well as the reopening of schools.

The minister of territorial administration, however, indicated that some areas were still faced with overcrowding due to the problem of displaced people, and that with the outbreak of cholera the situation might worsen. The meeting called on the government to take swift measures in time to deal with the problem and also to convince the displaced people to reintegrate into their respective areas. [passage omitted]

## Rwanda

### Prime Minister Designate Says Opposition Should Unite

LD1305144294 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 13 May 94

[Text] Faustin Twagiramungu, the Rwandan prime minister-designate, who was due to take up his position after implementation of the Arusha agreement, is currently in Europe trying to see if it is possible for him to play a role in this Rwandan crisis. Faustin Twagiramungu explained to correspondent Monique Mas that he hopes the opposition forces will meet and work together:

[Begin recording] [Twagiramungu] We are in contact with those who have remained in Rwanda in the liberated areas, as well as with those who are in Brussels. Therefore, we think that it is absolutely necessary to set up a coordination committee formed by all these forces and to try to act and do something so the Rwandan people know that the opposition still exists and intends to carry out its activities and assume its responsibility as an alternative to the regime.

[Mas] Do you believe in a military solution to the Rwandan problem?

[Twagiramungu] The military solution can be looked at from one angle. What we say today is that the army and the gendarmerie commands failed to put an end to the massacres perpetrated throughout the country. If this situation continues, it is obvious that all political forces and military forces that are able to introduce change and improve the situation will be absolutely welcome. [end recording]

### Calls For International Tribunal

LD1305145494 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 13 May 94

[Text] Faustin Twagiramungu, Rwanda's prime minister-designate appointed by the Arusha agreements, has made his voice heard once again from his exile in Brussels. Furthermore, he has been received by Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes. He wants a coordinating

committee of the Democratic Forces for Change to be established, and he explained to Monique Mas what he expects from the international community:

[Begin Twagiramungu recording] The international community should first of all help us—and at all cost—to establish an international tribunal to try the criminals and the perpetrators of the crimes and massacres which have been carried out in Rwanda from 6 April up to the present day. Second, we have to try to create authorities for the protection of refugees and also to ensure their safety within the framework of the supply of food aid. The role which UNAMIR plays, for example, should be redefined, and if there is any question of another force, then this force should be in a position to protect the refugees, so that they cannot be attacked by other forces, such as the militias, for example.

As for the genocide, we cannot mix up the war and the massacres. The massacres which have been ordered in Rwanda quite clearly differ from the war, and I must specify that this war is the result of the massacres. Here I differ quite frankly with those who claim that it is the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] which brought about the resumption of hostilities. [end recording]

#### Comments on Role of Outside Forces

LD1605084594 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 0700 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpts] In Rwanda the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] is advancing toward Gitarama, south of Kigali. [passage omitted]

The RPF would be happy to see a humanitarian force which would be tasked with establishing security zones in the east and south of the country, but the Front rebels will not hear of an intervention force to halt the fighting.

Faustin Twagiramungu, a Hutu member of the opposition, who should have become prime minister in the framework of the Arusha peace agreement, agrees with this. He was the guest on our magazine programme at 0820. Francois Rijkmans asked him what he wants from the West:

[Begin Twagiramungu recording] They can do a lot. For example, first by stopping the massacres, by putting pressure on the clique which is currently massacring people. And second, by giving substantial aid to the survivors, to the refugees. And third, by helping to ensure that (?this force can come), with a [word indistinct] redefinition of its mandate, as part of humanitarian aid, because aid is needed both in the zones occupied by the RPF and in the zones that are not occupied by the RPF. There are unfortunate victims everywhere in both these cases. [end recording]

#### RPF Officials, Mobutu Discuss Cease-Fire

EA1305164594 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in English to Rwanda 1100 GMT 13 May 94

[Text] President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire has been meeting Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] officials to

discuss the unilateral cease-fire document that has been signed by the illegitimate government in Rwanda. The RPF officials, Titus Rutaremara and Dr. Butera Jean Bosco, refused to countersign the document because, though the document had been signed by army officers, they have signed it on behalf of the Government of Rwanda, which the RPF does not recognize.

The unilateral cease-fire document by the Rwandese Government was signed by Army officers on behalf of the government, because President Mobutu had refused the government officials themselves to sign the agreement, knowing that the RPF would not accept it.

After the RPF officials refused to countersign the cease-fire document, President Mobutu suggested that a new document be prepared in which the part to be signed by the Rwandese Government was to be replaced by a part that will be signed by the Army officers of the Rwandese Government forces.

The RPF officials accepted these proposals of a cease-fire arrangement between the RPF and the Rwandese Government forces. The RPF has always rejected any talks with the illegitimate government in Rwanda, but the front has always invited the Rwandese Government forces for talks aimed at stopping the military hostilities between the two sides.

#### RPF Reports MRND Infiltrating Neighboring Countries

EA1305173394 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in English to Rwanda 1100 GMT 13 May 94

[Text] There are reports that Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND] militias have been infiltrating into countries neighboring Rwanda, with the mission of exterminating Rwandese refugees in those countries. All the countries neighboring Rwanda are hosts to millions of Rwandese refugees. Burundi, Zaire, Uganda and Tanzania have hosted millions of Rwandese refugees for a long time. This mission to exterminate Rwandese refugees in neighboring countries is more likely to succeed in countries where the refugees live in areas that are easily accessible from the Rwandan border. The UNHCR should take appropriate measures to preempt this impending catastrophe, otherwise they may start reacting when the situation is out of control.

#### MRND Youth Arrested in Tanzania

EA1305175094 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in English to Rwanda 1100 GMT 13 May 94

[Text] Reports from inside Tanzania tell us that Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND] youth-wingers have been separated from the rest of the refugees and given a separate refugee camp, and some who have been directly accused of committing atrocities have been arrested and are now waiting for trial. This is a necessary step that has been taken by Tanzanian Government, because the youth-wingers have been committing atrocities against

humanity, and should be arrested anywhere in the world. Apart from this, the youth-wingers are murderers who pose security risks to other Rwandese refugees in Tanzania, and security risks to the entire nation of Tanzania.

### **RPF Says MRND Militia Planning To Kill Opponents in Zaire**

*EA1305193294 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in French to Rwanda 1040 GMT 13 May 94*

[Excerpts] According to our correspondent in Kibungo, (Nyierigira Mutaburuka), refugees have been returning home all day. [passage omitted] We have also learned that, during this process of refugees returning from Tanzania, local authorities in Tanzania held those persons who had taken part in massacres in detention centers. Detentions also should be carried out in other neighboring countries, notably in Zaire, where there are Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development, MRND, militia, [Interahamwe] ready to massacre those Rwandan refugees who have settled there.

Indeed, a considerable number of Coalition for the Defense of the Republic militiamen have gone to Zaire via the border town of Goma, with a plan similar to the one which was just implemented in Rwanda: To exterminate anyone whom the puppet Gitarama government does not want to see alive. This question concerns Rwandan refugees, but also others living in Zaire, notably in the Masisi, Walikale and Rutshuru zones of the Goma subregion. [passage omitted]

### **RPF Notes Talks Between UN Head, Army COS**

*EA1305212294 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in French to Rwanda 1040 GMT 13 May 94*

[Excerpt] The UN high commissioner for human rights, Mr. Jose Ayala Lasso, has been in our country since the day before yesterday. He has come to Rwanda to gather information on the development of the situation—in particular the massacres—and to seek possible solutions to that problem.

He had the opportunity to hold talks with certain government military leaders, including the chief of general staff and the principal private secretary at the Defense Ministry. Their talks touched on the issue of those people now taking refuge in certain buildings in Kigali, which are surrounded by Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development [MRND] militia, notably the Hotel Des Milles Collines, the (Amohoro) hotel, and King Faisal hospital. The government military leaders, among them Chief of Staff [COS] Colonel Augustin Bizimungu, reportedly promised Mr. Ayala Lasso that they would facilitate the liberation of these people—but undoubtedly this promise will not be translated into reality, given the statements made by this same government army COS this morning on Radio France Internationale. When RFI correspondents asked him what the soldiers needed to neutralize the MRND

militia [Interahamwe] so as to prevent the massacre of innocent people, Colonel Bizimungu answered that it was a lack of soldiers, given that the soldiers were busy repulsing the Rwandan Patriotic Army [RPA]. [passage omitted]

### **RPF Claims Control of 'More Than Half' of Country**

*EA1305171894 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in French to Rwanda 1040 GMT 13 May 94*

[Text] The Rwandan Patriotic Army [RPA] has confirmed its advance. On the frontlines, the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] has shown that it is making progress. Today the RPA captured Gako Camp in the Bugesera region. This occurred after prolonged fighting, and the occupation of a large amount of territory. The RPA controls Byumba Prefecture, Kibungo Prefecture, three-quarters of Kigali Prefecture, and half of Ruhengeri Prefecture. In short, the RPF controls more than half of the country.

Fighting is now taking place in Bugesera region in southern Rwanda, which is very close to the border with northern Burundi.

In Kigali itself the RPF controls the northern part of the town [words indistinct] southern part of the town.

The liberation of the country is thus already a reality for the people. However, each Rwandan is still expected to contribute to that liberation by supporting the RPF combatants, and all those acting to help rid the country of the current dictatorship.

### **Fresh Fighting in Kigali**

*LD1405103494 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1000 GMT 14 May 94*

[Text] Fresh fighting with heavy weapons is reported in Kigali, the Rwandan capital. The toll of victims is rising. Between 100,000 and 200,000 are reported to have died. The rebel forces have claimed to be in control of nearly half of the country after five weeks of fighting.

### **Government Troops Blowing Up Bridges**

*EA1505135394 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in English to Rwanda 1125 GMT 15 May 94*

[Monitored in progress]

[Text] ... (?Government) forces have been destroying bridges in an attempt to slow down the advance of the Rwandan Patriotic Army, especially in the southern part of the country. Two bridges have been destroyed, one at Gashora on the road from Bugesera to Butare and the other bridge across the River Nyabarongo on the road to Gitarama. The Rwandese Patriotic Front [RPF] now controls more than half of the country and this includes the entire borderline with Uganda, the borderline with Tanzania and a big part of the Rwanda borderline with Burundi. The current RPF military offensive is intended

to stop the massacres by the illegitimate government in Rwanda, using the army and the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development militia. The massacres have claimed more than 300,000 people, opposition officials and people of Tutsi origin.

### Shells Hit Kigali City Center

AB1505135894 Paris AFP in English 1325 GMT  
15 May 94

[By Annie Thomas]

[Excerpts] Nairobi, May 15 (AFP)—Fighting between Rwandan rebels and government forces intensified Sunday [15 May] in several districts of Kigali and in towns across the country, a UN spokesman in the capital said. Abdul Kabia, contacted by telephone from Nairobi, reported heavy clashes between the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and government troops in the eastern and southeastern suburbs of Remera and Kicukiro. Mortar shells also fell in the centre of the capital, he said.

Fighting between the Tutsi-led RPF and the Hutu-majority government side was also raging in Ruhengeri, a northwest town still held by the regular army, and at Nkumba further to the north, Kabia said. Clashes were also reported at Bugesera, south of Kigali.

The RPF claimed on Friday it had seized control of half the country. [passage omitted]

Although the capital's streets are no longer littered with corpses, observers say that civilians trapped there now face a war of attrition where weapons, rather than political dialogue, will have the ultimate say.

General Romeo Dallaire, head of the UN assistance mission in Rwanda, said the RPF, made up of soldiers trained in guerrilla warfare, realizes it stands to lose too much in an all-out assault on Kigali and has thus adopted a tactic of "isolation, harassment and infiltration." He said that by progressively wearing down their enemies, the rebels, who control large chunks of the northern and eastern parts of the country, hope to be able to tighten their stranglehold around Kigali by gaining ground from the southeast before launching a final assault.

The RPF has been ransacking military bases, fighting for control of the road leading to the capital's airport, and lobbing mortars on the city centre where officials' buildings are located. But some of the mortars, either accidentally or intentionally, have fallen on city streets or refugee centres, terrorising civilians already struggling to survive on little water and food.

Meanwhile Dallaire is trying to broker a ceasefire among the warring parties while the UN Security Council is to vote next week on sending UN reinforcements to the war-ravaged country.

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, who visited Kigali last week, made an

impassioned plea Friday for the world to end the "unimaginable human tragedy" in Rwanda. "The world must do something to halt this violence," Ayala said.

### More Atrocities Reported; Citizens Burned Alive

LD1505153994 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1500 GMT 15 May 94

[Excerpts] As escapees bring more accounts of atrocities and massacres, a war of attrition seems to be under way in Kigali. [passage omitted]

Atrocities and massacres are being confirmed, and they affect the whole country. A Swiss businessman who lived in Butare in the south of Rwanda told how he saw men, women, and children thrown alive into a pit full of burning tires. There had been no problem between Hutu and Tutsi in Butare, he said, but everything started with the arrival of the presidential guard. [passage omitted]

### RPF Reports on Further Gains

EA1505203094 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in Kinyarwanda to Rwanda 1730 GMT 15 May 94

[Excerpt] The Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF] forces control the entire Byumba Prefecture, the entire Prefecture of Kibungo, about three quarters of the Kigali Prefecture, and it controls half the Ruhengeri Prefecture.

This is the part of the country that has already been snatched from the clique of leaders and their stooges: the presidential guards, the [Coalition for the defense of the republic militia, [Interahamwe], and the Revolutionary National Movement for Democracy and Development militia, Impuzamugambi. As for the rest of the country, it will not take long. Let them be strong.

As for Kigali town, the rebels control northern, eastern, and southeastern parts. Fighting is taking place around Ruhengeri. In the south of the country, fighting took place in the southern part of Bugesera and now the military barracks of the region has fallen to the rebels who now control it. [passage omitted]

### RPF Reiterates Position Against French Forces

EA1405151594 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in French to Rwanda 1030 GMT 14 May 94

[Excerpt] We have said that the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] cannot accept France taking part again militarily in an operation in Rwanda in any capacity whatsoever.

The behavior of the French Government in the Rwandan affair is so well known that it is almost impossible for France to envisage (?deploying) its troops in our country. The French Government has never stopped supporting those who committed the atrocities which erupted and continue in Rwanda, mainly by remaining silent. This is a conniving silence in the face of all the massacres which destroyed and still destroy human lives in Rwanda, particularly since the beginning

of the war in 1990, through its military support in terms of men and weapons. A large quantity of weapons deployed to exterminate the Rwandan population has been provided by France to the bloody Kigali regime. France also gave intensive military training to Presidential Guards and to Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development-Coalition for the Defense of the Republic militias which have caused such misery to befall the Rwandan population. [passage omitted]

#### UN Official on Contacts With RPF, Government

LD1405163694 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 14 May 94

[Excerpts] Jose Ayala Lasso, the high commissioner for human rights [name and title as received], visited the Rwandan capital Kigali this week. During his visit he held talks with the rebel leader, Paul Kagame, and met senior army and government officials. Jose Ayala Lasso succeeded in obtaining the commitment of the various parties to enable the departure of the 20,000 civilians who detained like hostages at Kigali's stadium or at the Mille Collines Hotel. Assane Diop asked Jose Ayala Lasso where these civilians could take refuge if these commitments were respected:

[Begin recording] [Lasso] This will have to be one of the factors under consideration since they will not only need guarantees concerning their personal safety to leave, but they will also have to go to a place where they will be safe. All this must be considered, assessed, planned, and implemented.

[Diop] Would it be in Rwanda or in neighboring countries?

[Lasso] This will depend on these people. Some want to leave for a foreign country. However, all this must be assessed in conjunction with the means at our disposal to guarantee safety, and also with the possibility to move within the country.

[Diop] Would the United Nations be ready to pay for the costs of displacing so many people inside or outside Rwanda?

[Lasso] I have no doubt that the high commissioner for refugees or other UN agencies will be able to support this scheme. [passage omitted]

[Diop] Beyond obtaining the freedom of these hostages you have also attempted to obtain a cease-fire. You have met senior Rwandan military and government officials, did you also meet senior RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] officials?

[Lasso] I met General Kagame of the RPF. I did not go there with the idea to negotiate or to put forward a cease-fire. I went there to bring my message as high commissioner for human rights, that is: Stop the violence, respect the rights of all and everyone. Obviously, all this is closely tied to the cease-fire and it is only for

this and in this context that I said that it was necessary for both parties to take measures to reach an agreement for a cease-fire.

[Diop] Did the rebels commit themselves to sparing lives?

[Lasso] The rebels say that a cease-fire does not necessarily imply an end to the violence, because massacres have gone on even during the cease-fire. They believe that the cease-fire must be included in a process that should, first, be aimed at ending violence. Naturally when they say that, they are accusing the other party. The same position, with some slightly different nuances, is being held by government soldiers. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### UN Mission in Kigali Deplores Delays in Troops, Aid

AB1405200894 Paris AFP in English 1922 GMT 14 May 94

[Excerpt] Kigali, May 14 (AFP)—The UN mission here hit out Saturday [14 May] at United Nations Security Council delays in deploying fresh troops in Rwanda, as the corpses of thousands of victims of the country's ethnic bloodbath surfaced in neighbouring Uganda. "A single day's delay is one day too much," said Moctar Gueye, a spokesman for the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) in the capital.

Reduced from 2,500 to around 400, the mission has become powerless to prevent continuation of the carnage which aid agencies estimate has claimed at least 200,000 lives in little more than five weeks. On Friday in New York the Security Council postponed until next week a vote on the planned deployment of 5,500 additional UN troops. But Gueye added that he was hopeful that, once authorised, the reinforcements would be capable of intervening to help secure an end to the bloodletting.

Meanwhile sporadic bursts of heavy weapons continued in the Rwandan capital Saturday as rebels fighters battled government troops for control of the city, Gueye said. The exchanges between rebels of the mainly minority Tutsi Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and the Hutu-dominated government forces, were limited to small arms fire during the afternoon, Gueye said, adding: "The calm will not last."

Separately, health officials in Kampala said Saturday that Ugandans living on the shores of Lake Victoria had had to bury thousands of corpses flowing into the lake from Rwanda though the River Kagera. The officials warned that unless the mass burials were expedited, epidemics could break out as mutilated, decomposing bodies continued to flood in.

Ugandan villagers have buried an estimated 26,000 bodies recovered from the lake during the past three weeks, said Emmanuel Pinto, a deputy from western Uganda.

The official NEW VISION newspaper reported on Friday that bodies were arriving at the rate of 1,600 daily. The UN World Health Organisation has supplied villagers with grave digging tools to speed up the macabre exercise.

Earlier Saturday in Kigali, former French minister for humanitarian action Bernard Kouchner called on the international community to help avert "genocide" in the country. "We cannot stand by and let genocide be perpetrated," said Kouchner, a doctor who founded the medical charity Medecins Sans Frontieres and who arrived here on Thursday and spent Friday touring orphanages and camps for people made homeless by the conflict.

The UN Security Council postponed action on the Rwanda proposal until early next week after around four hours of discussions.

British ambassador to the United Nations, Sir David Hannay, stressed all delegates were aware of the urgency of the situation, but a US diplomat said he believed Washington had not received sufficient details on where the reinforcements would be deployed.

Diplomatic sources said there were unconfirmed reports that the force would be composed of troops from Australia, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and Tanzania, would include 800 troops deployed in Kigali to protect the airport and other key sites. Government sources in Canberra said Saturday that at least 10 western countries, mostly European but including Australia, had been asked to make a contribution to the new force. [passage omitted]

#### **MRNDD Militia Leader: 'Enough of These Accusations'**

*LD1505090794 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 15 May 94*

[Excerpts] No one knows how many people have been massacred in Rwanda. [passage omitted] The militiamen of the former single party in Rwanda, the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development [MRNDD], the late President Habyarimana's party, are considered to be largely to blame for these massacres. Their leader is Robert Kadjuga; he is president of this militia, called the Interahamwe. Our reporter Jean Helene has met him and Kadjuga says he has had enough of these accusations. The massacres, the genocide, all these are the results of fate rather than of some deliberate plan:

[Begin recording] [Kadjuga] They are not organized; no way, no way, no way. You have to see the situation: the president died, and after three hours, the population really did not understand what was going on. They saw their neighbors next door who had guns to kill everyone; well, they just defended themselves.

[Helene] Are you collaborating with the army in this form of civilian defense?

[Kadjuga] Well, we just exchange some advice. Otherwise, there really is no regular contact with the army. We are just doing our best not to disturb the army. If the army asks us to leave a spot, we leave it, but we help the army to defend the country.

[Helene] Do you send your members to the front?

[Kadjuga] Sometimes, because there are sectors where the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] wants to go but the population does not want this, so I could describe this as the front. So, if you like, if the RPF is in this sector, and if our people are there, then they fight. We are going to fight to prevent the RPF from taking Kigali. We're quite sure of that. We'd rather die. [end recording]

### **Sao Tome and Principe**

#### **Diplomatic Ties Established With South Africa**

*AB1405155194 Paris AFP in French 1457 GMT 13 May 94*

[Text] Sao Tome, 13 May (AFP)—Sao Tomean President Miguel Trovoada announced upon his return from South Africa that Sao Tome and Principe and South Africa have established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level. The president had been attending President Nelson Mandela's inauguration.

"We always fought the apartheid regime, and so after these first free and multiracial elections in South Africa we can henceforth establish diplomatic relations with that country," Mr. Trovoada told journalists. The agreement was signed on 10 May in Libreville between Hurbino Botelho, the Sao Tomean charge d'affaires, and South African Ambassador Willem Steenkamp.

President Trovoada also stated that during his visit in Pretoria he held discussions with the presidents of the other four African Portuguese-speaking countries, with whom he examined the sociopolitical situation prevailing in the five African Portuguese-speaking countries.

## Eritrea

### Ministry Denies 'Biased Stance' in Yemen Conflict

LD1405163494 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1536 GMT  
14 May 94

[Text] Kuwait, 14 May—Eritrea has today denied that it has a biased stance in favor of either side in the fighting currently raging in Yemen, and called for ending this fighting and resorting to peaceful dialogue.

This came in an Eritrean Foreign Affairs Ministry's statement distributed by the Eritrean Embassy in Kuwait.

The statement, a copy of which was sent to KUNA, said that "the Eritrean stance towards the conflict in Yemen calls for ending the fighting and appealing to reason and the logic of dialogue in such a way which achieves the interest of the Yemeni people and move it away from the slides of rupture, displacement and misery".

He added that "from this logic, we repeat the appeal to the two parties to the conflict to end the fighting and resort to peaceful dialogue in such a way which preserves the interest of the Yemeni people, and the security and stability in our region in general".

The statement described the news which suggested a biased Eritrean stance in favor of one of parties in the Yemeni conflict against the other as being "untrue and harms Eritrea's positive role to find a peaceful solution to the crisis, and it harms Eritrea's relations with all the Yemenis alike".

## Somalia

### SNA Urges Help for Somali Refugees in Yemen

EA1505190694 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT  
15 May 94

[Text] A senior spokesman for the Somali National Alliance, SNA, has appealed to the world to provide emergency assistance to the Somali refugees in Yemen who he said are experiencing a horrible situation. The spokesman said over 400 Somali refugees had been killed in the ongoing civil war in Yemen. He appealed to relief agencies to evacuate the refugees and bring them back to Somalia or take them to any other destination they wanted to go. The senior spokesman of the SNA said the refugees needed urgent assistance such as the provision of food, medicine, shelter, and (?protection). In conclusion, he called on our warring Yemeni brothers to stop fighting and resolve the conflict through dialogue.

## Tanzania

### Aid Workers Fear 'As Many As' 500,000 Killed in Rwanda

EA1405152594 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
External Service in English 0400 GMT 14 May 94

[Text] Aid workers have said they fear as many as 500,000 people may have been killed in the Rwandan conflict, more than double the previous estimates, and the killing was still going on.

A senior aid official who in the past had given a figure of 20,000, said he believed up to half a million people had died since the start of the current fighting at the beginning of April. Other reports say the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front, the RPF, has expressed support for the idea of a UN humanitarian force in Rwanda but says it should be smaller than the one proposed by the world body. The RPF said Rwanda's neighbors and any country that had backed the government in Kigali should be excluded from the force. The guerrilla group also stressed it will not abandon the strategic positions under its control.

### Citizens Returning From Rwanda Comment on Situation

EA1405152894 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
Network in Swahili 0330 GMT 14 May 94

[Excerpt] Amid reports of continuing shelling between Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) fighters and government troops in Kigali and the killing of 80 [as heard] school girls in Rwanda, 120 Tanzanians have arrived in the country from Rwanda via Burundi. The 120 Tanzanians, including 40 children, met the Ngara district commissioner, Ndugu Jonah Mwakishomba, who was at Kabungo on the Burundi border on other business.

The Tanzanians led by the secretary of the Tanzanian community in Rwanda, Brother Ramadhani Hainza Tisiime, told the district commissioner of the suffering they experienced in Rwanda before their departure via Burundi. The Tanzanians, who arrived in Tanzania in a freight truck flying the Tanzanian flag, and five private cars are travelling to Mwanza where they hope to meet the regional commissioner. They plan to present the commissioner with the national flag which was removed from the Tanzanian Embassy in Kigali and is now flying on the truck.

The embassy in Kigali was closed many days ago. The Tanzanians say they stayed outside the embassy in the sun and rain without getting any assistance from the Rwandans who claimed that President Habyarimana had been killed on his way from Tanzania and therefore they should fend for themselves. One woman told the Ngara district commissioner that she had been on a visit to Kigali and had left her residence for a short time. When she returned she found that all the Tanzanians in the house had been killed by government troops and

government militia. The Tanzanians related that on their way home, they received some assistance from RPF fighters.

They also said there are 40 other Tanzanians at the embassy in Kigali without food who need assistance from the government of Tanzania. [passage omitted]

#### **Evacuation Efforts Continue**

*EA1505130894 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
Network in Swahili 0330 GMT 15 May 94*

[From the press review]

[Text] Efforts to evacuate Tanzanian nationals in Rwanda continue. The government said it was making further efforts to repatriate 40 Tanzanian nationals who have been stranded in Rwanda following intensified ethnic clashes. Speaking in a telephone interview yesterday following reports that 40 Tanzanians were stranded in offices previously used by Tanzania's diplomatic mission in Rwanda, the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Dr. Ibrahim Msabaha, said the government had already made contacts with various NGO's, including the Red Cross, asking them to provide assistance in the form of food and medicines to the Tanzanians.

Besides this, the government has also contacted the French and Belgian Embassies in Rwanda to look into the possibility of transporting the Tanzanians by road. More than 40 national flags were sent to Rwanda the day before yesterday to be used by vehicles that would provide transport to the Tanzanians.

#### **Fleeing Rwandan Soldiers Surrender Weapons at Border**

*EA1505131394 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
Network in Swahili 1900 GMT 14 May 94*

[Excerpts] A total of 64 assorted firearms, including 389 rounds of ammunition, have been surrendered to police in Ngara District, Kagera Region by soldiers of the Rwandan Army who are fleeing the fighting in their country and entering Tanzania following the outbreak of civil war early last month. This was said by the Kagera Region commissioner, Honorable Philip Mangula, when he briefed the deputy prime minister and minister of home affairs, Hon. Augustine Mrema on the situation of the Rwandan refugees in (Kasulo) camp, Ngara District. The Hon. Mrema, who is in Ngara to study the situation of the Rwandan refugees, phoned Radio Tanzania this evening and said that the weapons included an (FMG)-16 gun, eight pistols, and 30 grenades. [passage omitted]

Hon. Mrema said the (Kasulo) refugee camp has already received 270,000 registered refugees though it is estimated that their total number is 350,000. The camp is said to be the biggest refugee camp in the world.

#### **New Influx of Hutus Refugees Fleeing RPF 'Atrocities'**

*EA1505133194 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania  
External Service in English 1000 GMT 15 May 94*

[Text] There has been a new influx of Rwandan refugees, most of them Hutus, across the border with Tanzania. Reports from there say about 13,000 people had set up temporary homes which are believed to be about 40 km from the main Rwandan refugee camps.

Many of the Hutus are said to have fled from atrocities committed by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) which is mostly Tutsi. The reports add that RPF soldiers were killing many people and burning down houses during the advance. The RPF, which now controls much of eastern Rwanda, has denied the systematic killing of civilians.

**London Newspaper: Mandela Plans To Step Down in 2 Years**

*MB1505115194 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 15 May 94*

[Text] The London newspaper, THE SUNDAY TIMES, says President Nelson Mandela plans to step down in two years' time after overseeing the introduction of a new constitution. The paper quoted ANC sources as saying Mr. Mandela had hinted that he would step down after overseeing South Africa's first steps toward reconciliation. It said that this had sparked a power struggle within the ANC.

**ANC Says Article 'Totally Unfounded'**

*MB1505184394 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1809 GMT 15 May 94*

[Statement issued by the ANC on the SAPA PR Wire Service]

[Text] President Nelson Mandela has taken note of an article in the London SUNDAY TIMES claiming that he may retire within two years as president of South Africa. The president expresses his displeasure with the totally unfounded and malicious disinformation published by the London SUNDAY TIMES. The article has absolutely no factual basis, and is nothing more than rumour mongering written with the intention to create uncertainty about South Africa's first democratically elected government. President Mandela wishes to state categorically that he intends to remain in office for the full term that he had been elected to. The people of South Africa have given the president a clear mandate, and he intends to fulfill that mandate to the fullest.

**Deputy President Comments on Future of New Government**

*MB1605072094 Johannesburg SABC CCV Television Network in English 1730 GMT 15 May 94*

[Interview with First Executive Deputy President Thabo Mbeki by SABC announcer Leslie Mashokwe on the "Newsline" program on 15 May—live]

[Text] [Mashokwe] A very warm welcome to this Sunday edition of Newsline. Tonight the spotlight falls on the future of the new government—how it intends solving some of the long outstanding problems and how it hopes to bring everlasting peace and prosperity in this country. The long-awaited dream of a democratically elected government in South Africa has finally been realized.

This week's festivities, among others, saw the inauguration of the president and his two deputy presidents, Mr. Thabo Mbeki and Mr. F.W. de Klerk. Now that this time is over, a rough and tough road is awaiting this new government. Among the problems which need to be addressed is the aspirations of blacks and the fears that still exist in some of our white compatriots. With me in the studio to discuss the road ahead is the deputy

president of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki. Good evening to you, sir, and welcome.

[Mbeki] Good evening, Leslie.

[Mashokwe] Mr. Mbeki, are you settling in?

[Mbeki] Yes, we are in the process of settling in Leslie. We ... [pauses] Everybody is moving into new offices and finding staff and discovering where the dining rooms are and where the toilets are and things like this. Yes, yes, I think everybody is in the process of doing that.

[Mashokwe] Let us into the last cabinet meeting you had. We are talking about a government of national unity, a potpourri of people from different backgrounds. Is it working? Will it work? Are there problems?

[Mbeki] It will work. It will work. I think the ... we are all of us proceeding, I think from the same basis, that there are certain things that need to be done in the country. People need jobs and I don't think any of the parties represented in the cabinet would disagree with that. We need to ensure that the standard of living of the people throughout the country is raised and I think everybody would agree with that. All of us agree that we need to attend to the matter of violence, whether political or criminal. That has to be attended to. We need to ensure that we have proper relations with the rest of the world. I think all of these matters are agreed, so we are starting, maybe broadly speaking, from the same base, and I think that that's what will assist in making this cabinet—never mind that it's got three parties in it—a cohesive unit. I'm sure about that.

[Mashokwe] Are there problems?

[Mbeki] Well, the ...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Insurmountable—insurmountable problems.

[Mbeki] You mean within the cabinet? Sure, I would imagine that there would be tensions. We are all coming from different points. We've got different histories. We've just come out of an election campaign that was vigorously fought and people need to get to know one another better. Yes, I would imagine that there would be tensions, but as I say that there's a broad vision which we all of us share and that fact ought to help in terms of overcoming whatever problems there might be in terms of people getting used to one another.

[Mashokwe] The big expectation out there is that of nation building and reconciliation. What would you regard as priorities as you step into this? The party's over and government has got to start operating now.

[Mbeki] Well, the ... Parliament resumes Leslie on the 24th of this month, and the president will give a state of the nation address, and we expect that that nation, or that state of the nation address will reflect the opinion of the cabinet as a whole. I think that will be an important moment when this new government says: We are

speaking with one voice with regard to various matters, and that ought to translate in terms of the constituencies of the various parties in the cabinet, that at that level—that process of national reconciliation, of building one country, of determining priorities and programs—that it is possible to do all of that despite the fact that you are dealing with different parties, so I think that's going to be an important moment, because at that point, as I say, the cabinet will speak with one voice, I hope, and that ought to send the message to the country that we can and must, as different political entities, act together.

We want, also, to ensure that in the preparation of that presentation by the president, that the president would have consulted further, further than the parties represented in the cabinet—the unions, the business community, the civic organizations, the traditional leaders and so on, so that you ... what you should then get coming across on the 24th of May, is a national vision.

[Mashokwe] But that doesn't answer my question on what you as deputy president will regard as priorities.

[Mbeki] Sure, the priorities. I thought you were asking a question about what needs to be done to convey an image, a message of reconciliation and of acting together. With regard to priorities, surely the priority, the basic priority, must be to—as quickly as is possible—to change the conditions of life of the people. That has to be basic, whether it relates to jobs or housing or health or education or land or any of these questions. That has to be fundamental priority. The people have won their democratic rights. They voted—exercised that right, elected government of their choice. The next step in the emancipation of the people must be to address the issues of freedom from hunger, freedom from poverty, from want—all of those sorts of questions. That must be priority.

Of course there must be detailed programs—when ... what do you do with housing? What do you do with job creation, provision of water in the countryside and all these questions? But I think that that's a priority that must underpin this.

I was saying earlier that one of the questions again that is critically important is the matter of violence. Just now, on Friday, 12 people got killed at Thokoza. We ought not to have anything of that kind. More than 400 people have been killed in Natal since the state of emergency was declared. That must be priority. It's both political and criminal violence—but that must be priority in terms of the programs that this new government must engage in.

[Mashokwe] Let's go back to the issue of reconciliation if we may. Sir, the point is people were murdered, maimed, killed in the past and you talk ... [pauses] The ANC talks of a commission of truth. At one point we have amnesty for security generals—people, and the question is: Are you going to come up with a blanket amnesty for political killings at the expense of people who probably

still have that pain in their heart, who were killed, maimed, during those days?

[Mbeki] Leslie, this new government of national unity has not yet discussed this question, so I couldn't speak for that government on this issue. It is clearly a matter that must be addressed. Our own view with regard to this is that if we took the route of amnesty, indemnity, whatever, it would be important that anybody affected—it doesn't matter from where they come—whether they come from the ANC or from anywhere else, that they must say what it is they want to be indemnified for. If I ask for indemnity, I need to say: These are the things that I did for which I require indemnity, but as I say, the matter has not been discussed. It clearly is one of the issues that will be discussed by this new government, but I am reflecting on a discussion which I think goes beyond the ANC. Even the legal community in the country is raising the point, that if there is to be amnesty for anybody it needs to be known what it is that they are applying for.

[Mashokwe] But will that not open up wounds?

[Mbeki] No, the intention is not to open up wounds. The intention is to solve an existing problem, and as you are saying, there are many problems that have not been solved. I've got a first cousin of mine who disappeared. We don't know—as a family we have looked. We have asked questions. We don't know where he is. He has disappeared. It's possible that somebody out there knows, and it will be good for the family that they know—not for purposes of retribution—so that at least we know that this person is gone forever. No, it's not for purposes of retribution. We are not after Nuremberg trials. We are ... [pauses] It's necessary to clean the slate, to solve these outstanding questions—answer them, and so that we can at least know what it is that we should never repeat again, in future.

[Mashokwe] Mr. Mbeki, I need to ask you this one. It's very important. You are deputy president and reports reaching us here indicate that in the next two years or so Mr. Mandela might be handing over the reins of power to you. Is that the plan?

[Mbeki] No Leslie, the ... [pauses] I heard today that a London newspaper, THE SUNDAY TIMES, carried some report that Nelson Mandela is going to retire after two years or something—absolutely no truth to this. In fact we ... I found it rather reprehensible that you could get a newspaper like that and whoever writes for it, writing a thing like that. They ... [pauses] I'm quite certain. They didn't even have the courtesy to ask Nelson Mandela is this true. I know they certainly didn't come to me. No substance of any truth at all to this, and dealing with this particular newspaper it's not the first time that they floated all sorts of funny ideas which, you know, seem to us clearly intended to destabilize the ANC, in this instance to destabilize the new government, the presidency. There's no substance. Nelson Mandela has been elected to lead this country for five years when

we'll have the next election, and it will be up to the ANC and Mandela to decide whether he stands for a second term of office. There's no truth whatsoever to the story and as I say I think it's rather reprehensible. I think it's ... [pauses] You are a journalist. You are part of the media. I think it is bad ethics for the media to handle matters in the way that this particular newspaper has handled this matter.

[Mashokwe] But you are the national chairman. You are the deputy president. It is not ludicrous, anyway, for people to speculate in that direction. Is it?

[Mbeki] Well, you see, sure—I suppose there's no law against speculation. That's perfectly alright, but to assert this matter in the way as I understand that this particular newspaper asserted it, that highly-placed sources in the ANC, whatever phrase was used. I think that's bad, particularly that, I mean, if this was serious I would have expected that your fellow journalists would try and seek Nelson Mandela's opinion to say: Mr. President, I understand the following—what's your view? But they don't, and the intention can't be honorable. The intention can't be to inform. I think the intention is something else.

[Mashokwe] Okay, let's look at other issues—death penalty. Some right-wingers were given the death sentence very recently. There are question marks around the ANC's policy on death penalty, some say the official one ... [pauses] line is—now, you don't like—the ANC does not like the death penalty. Are you going to institute death penalties? Is the ANC government going to move away from death penalties? What is the thinking?

[Mbeki] We are against the death penalty, and I'm quite certain that when the matter gets discussed that's the position that the ANC will present. We don't think it's correct for ordinary persons like ourselves to take into our hands the power to take away other people's lives. The matter will be discussed surely, but as I say, our own view remains that it would not be correct for the government to give itself such power. The right to life—the right to life as South Africans—I think we need to be very sensitive to that because too many people have died in this country, in criminal violence, in political violence. People continue to die, and I think you want to create a society which has a sense of revulsion at the fact of murder, of taking away of people's lives, whether it's done by elected organs of state or by individuals.

[Mashokwe] But Mr. Mbeki, let's think a bit about the Hani murder, for instance. It occurred during the days of the old government and the sentence passed, in people's eyes, befitted the action. Are you going to be standing in the way of the carrying out of that action?

[Mbeki] Well, as I say Leslie, as I say, talking about the ANC—we want to say no. Sure, the commission of crime, of any crime, must receive the necessary response from the judicial organs of the country, but we do not believe that this particular retribution, this particular

punishment, death, solves anything. It perpetuates a notion which is unhealthy, that people can take other people's lives.

[Mashokwe] Let's move over to matters financial. A lot has been written in the papers about the pay raises that the new government has earned itself, or what the Melamet Commission has recommended. A lot of people say in the days of electioneering, the ANC, particularly, was vocal on the need to cut on government expenditure, salaries for that matter. The question is: What action are you going to be taking now that you are in government?

[Mbeki] Well, we would like to have the recommendations of the Melamet Commission discussed by parliament, in the first instance. There may be some technical problems about payments. You've got members of parliament sitting there, you've got ministers sitting there, and there may not be any particular framework to deal with the matter of their salaries at the end of this month. That's got to be addressed somehow. But no, we would want to—parliament, and society in general—to participate in the debate as to ... about this particular matters, so there hasn't been a decision, certainly not on the part of the ANC and certainly not on the part of Parliament, to say that we accept the recommendations of the Melamet Commission.

We would want all those matters discussed openly and criteria, rules, principles and all of that, discussed and agreed, but I think we also need to say this Leslie, that it's important not to set up a salary structure for elected officials such that you expose those elected officials to bribery, and that's important. If you take an elected official and you pay them at rates which are clearly inadequate you expose them to temptation. You also clearly don't need to pay those elected officials at rates that are far above what people in equivalent positions are earning, because you are creating a different problem.

So I'm saying that we need to find a balanced solution to this question, but certainly, if you said you want to have your elected officials living as though in monasteries or nunneries, what's going to happen? You are going to call them back here to say: Why did you accept this money from here or there, because in the end, in terms of maintaining families and leading ordinary lives, if you expose them to poverty, they will ... they will be susceptible to bribes.

[Mashokwe] Today's newspapers indicate that a national debt of 60 billion rand has been accumulated and you are receiving this in your hands as you move into office. Is that a priority? Is that a problem?

[Mbeki] The size of the national debt is a problem. It's been a very ... [pauses] It's become a very high-ranking element in terms of public expenditure. The servicing of that public debt—it has been—last year it was, I understood, second after education—I hear ... I see in the press now that it's likely to become the first element. Yes it is a worrying factor because it means that you tax the

public, raise public revenues in order to service, to pay the banks. It's something that must be addressed very seriously and it's part of the constraint. It's part of the constraint in terms of the handling of public finances, that you couldn't act in a way which once more raises that public debt, because I say in the end you have national resources being consumed by servicing that. It's a real situation. It's unfortunate that it happened, but we inherited it and we've got to deal with it as best as we can.

[Mashokwe] You referred earlier on to violence that has been rearing its head here and there in the country. The question is: Are we going to see you being able to cut on defense and security in the coming years, as it was envisaged by the ANC—we will cut money on defense, use it for other things. What is the situation now as you move into real government.

[Mbeki] Yes, we do believe it's a—if you are talking about defense—it should be possible to keep those defense figures low, because, in the first instance, you know we've got to read the situation. What is the threat to this democratic South Africa? We are talking about the defense forces. Does Swaziland threaten us, or Lesotho, or Botswana, whatever, meriting whatever expenditure—or do we have a naval threat from India so that we must buy many naval ships and all that? I would imagine that that kind of threat is not really there. That should help to address the issue of what source of expenditure we should have on defense.

With regard to the maintenance of law and order, hopefully the situation is going to change, the situation with regard to the relationship between the police and the public. I know for a fact that the new minister of safety and security is very concerned about this matter, senior police officers are concerned about this matter, because I do believe that once you change that relationship between the police and the people, the capacity of the police to prevent crime and to catch wrongdoers will be much increased. It may not need more policemen, it will certainly need better cooperation between the people and the police.

[Mashokwe] Millions of rands have been pledged to the country by foreign governments over the past few days. America spoke of 600 million dollars and we say, where is this money going to?

[Mbeki] That money ought to go into reconstruction and development. It ought to go directly into projects that are targeted at improving the conditions of life of the people, whether it's housing or health, clean water in the rural areas, roads so that people have got access—that's where it ought to go.

[Mashokwe] But if past experiences are anything to go by, many of these monies have ended up in bureaucracies, and this brings me to the question of civil service. A smaller, efficient civil service is what the ANC was taking about. Does this mean people are going to lose their jobs?

[Mbeki] Well, we don't have past experience Leslie in this country [laughter] because there has never been a democratic government.

[Mashokwe] Eh, but there was a government [words indistinct].

[Mbeki] Yeah, not a democratic one anyway. No, with regard to the public service. We have said, indeed, that we are not after sacking anybody. We—job security is guaranteed, questions of pensions are not going to be affected, but clearly we have got to keep public expenditure down with regards to that kind of expenditure. I am not talking about capital expenditure, public works programs, and so on. We have got to keep recurrent expenditure down, so the ANC certainly does not have any intention of a radical increase in numbers of people within the public service, who are—without offending anybody—who are pen-pushers, and I think it will be possible. There are many structures of government that are being established in terms of the new constitution, which structures of government we will probably need the civil servants that are already employed. We might have to increase, somewhat, but I am saying that we are not looking forward to a radical rise in recurrent expenditure because clearly it would have a negative impact.

[Mashokwe] But Mr. Mbeki, how then are you going to be implementing affirmative actions? People who voted for the ANC believed that their lot would be changed come an ANC government?

[Mbeki] Well, yes, sure, change must happen. Change must happen. Change does not happen necessarily because you increase the number of people in an office from five to 20. Change can happen in many ways. You see, for instance the South African economy, the South African economy needs very many skilled people, whether they are technicians or engineers or whatever. So I mean, it ought not to be that we proceed from the position that to create employment take them into the public service. Why don't we say, in the context of a growing economy you are going to need all the skills?

[Mashokwe] Is it out of question, Mr. Mbeki—I have to butt in here—to say there are people who were advantaged by the apartheid government then, who ascended to positions like that of a general, and somebody who voted for you would want to say, I have been in civil service and I hope to be able to move up there because the government has changed, and I have the qualifications. I was denied this in the past?

[Mbeki] Sure, very legitimate, and I would believe that the public service commission for instance would look very favorably at that. We want to remove racism, we want to remove discrimination, whether gender or race. We need to remove that discrimination from the system, and indeed you are quite right, you might find that there are people who have the competence, the experience, the qualifications, but who were kept down because there was apartheid, and that those matters certainly need to be addressed.

[Mashokwe] Is South Africa rejoining the world—the OAU, SADC [Southern African Development Community], PTA [Preferential Trade Area], AFD [expansion unknown]?

[Mbeki] The new South Africa will be admitted by the OAU when it meets at summit level during the month of June. We certainly will be looking for an early meeting with the SADC to look at—there has been prior discussion with them about this—but to look at what happens, how South Africa joins this grouping, and many groups like this, the African Development Bank...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Commonwealth?

[Mbeki] Commonwealth, yes. In our own view South Africa should go back into the Commonwealth, but again this is a decision that the new government will have to take.

[Mashokwe] Mr. Mbeki thanks for your time, and thanks for talking to us.

[Mbeki] Thanks.

#### Profile of Deputy President Mbeki

MB1405202094 Johannesburg NEW NATION  
(Inauguration Supplement) in English 13 May 94 p 6

[Unattributed report]

[Text] He has been described as ambitious and is often passed off as a political moderate. He has also been praised for his astute diplomatic skills, political incisiveness and his pragmatism. But above all, Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international relations, is best known for his charm, statesmanship and ability to keep his composure. Born more than 51 years ago on June 18, in the Transkei, Mbeki was initiated into the struggle in his early teens. He became one of the ANC's youngest National Executive Committee (NEC) members and has been a member of the organisation for most of his life. The son of the ANC and SA [South African] Communist Party leader, Govan Mbeki, joined the ANC's youth league in 1956, when he was just 14 years old.

He is as much a product of his father's influence as he is a graduate of student struggles. This is despite the fact that he spent most of his political life separated from his father, who spent a quarter of a century behind bars after being imprisoned with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the other Rivonia trialists in 1964. But by then, Thabo Mbeki had already emerged as a significant figure in student politics and had been through a number of struggles at school. In 1959 he was forced to continue his studies at home when the school he attended in Lovedale near Alice in Eastern Cape was shut down after a student strike. Mbeki was politically active at the school.

Not much is known of his early childhood, but Isaac Mogase, an ANC activist at the time, remembers Mbeki "as a very naughty little boy." Mogase recalls that event at the youthful age of 17, Thabo showed leadership

qualities, he was a very good judge of people. "His childhood spontaneity has been replaced by a mature personality that is difficult to fault," Mogase added, when asked about Mbeki in 1990 soon after his return to the country from exile.

After matriculating in 1959, Mbeki went on to study economics as a correspondence student at a British university. It was during this time that Mbeki joined the ANC's underground structures. In 1961 he was elected secretary of the African Student's Association (ASA), and worked under the direction of Walter Sisulu and Duma Nokwe.

Thabo left the country in 1962 on the instructions of the ANC as part of one of the first groups sent out for training. He made his way through Botswana to what was then Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. There he was arrested and almost repatriated to South Africa. Fortunately, however, he was given political asylum in Tanzania, and left for London soon after to complete his Masters degree in economics at Sussex University in 1966. During his student years, Mbeki remained active in student politics and maintained contact with international student and youth organisations, including the international Union of Socialist Youth.

He also played a very prominent role in building the ANC youth and student section outside the country and, from the beginning, he was regarded as being a leader in these sectors. During this period the ANC had only one full-time representative in London and the bulk of the organisation's work was done by students like Mbeki.

In those early years in exile, Oliver Tambo and Yusuf Dadoo were two of the major political figures who influenced Mbeki. After university, Mbeki worked in the ANC's London office until 1970 when he moved to Lusaka after completing his military training in the Soviet Union. During his initial stay in Lusaka, he was appointed the secretary of the organisation's Revolutionary Council. He also served as the ANC's acting representative in Swaziland from 1975 to 1976, before returning to ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

In 1975, he was elected to the ANC's National Executive Committee and became the political secretary in the office of the ANC president Oliver Tambo and subsequently director of information. During the seventies, he was also involved in building the ANC in Swaziland and underground structures inside the country. An added quality in this regard was his willingness to undertake any mission, no matter how dangerous, if that was what the movement required of him.

"He's always calm and composed and has a very warm and endearing personality." So, even if someone disagrees with him at great deal, they cannot but help to appreciate him. "He always tries to understand the other side's point of view. But this does not mean that he is weak—it is just that, even in arriving at his own position, he would take a very close look at what others have to say," one of his close associates said.

While most have known Mbeki for his "remarkable diplomatic qualities," ANC members closer to him point out that his most outstanding quality is that he is a "very deep thinker."

His worth in international affairs brought him into contact with statesmen all over the world in his relentless efforts to isolate apartheid, a move that the ANC regarded as crucial.

Mbeki was elected to the position of National Chairperson of the ANC last year. Since then he has served as both chief of international affairs and chairperson. Last week, President Nelson Mandela named Mbeki as his first vice-president. He was formally inaugurated into that position on Tuesday.

#### **Buthelezi Asks Supporters 'To Make Peace With Opponents'**

*MB1405164694 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1600 GMT 14 May 94*

[Text] Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party is still committed to international mediation regarding federalism and the Zulu monarchy. He said this at a function organized by the Inkatha Youth Brigade at Undini during the party's Natal victory celebrations. The occasion was also used to honor his leadership.

He commended President Nelson Mandela and Vice-President F.W. de Klerk for their views regarding the Zulu monarch, particularly in the period before the election. Dr. Buthelezi emotionally thanked Natal voters for their support. He praised officials of the KwaZulu administration for their loyalty when there was talk of overthrowing the government. He said the struggle for freedom and federalism had just begun, and that the IFP would take the lead in this struggle. Dr. Buthelezi asked his supporters, for the sake of the region's future, to make peace with their opponents. He said economic investments can only be expected in provinces where there is peace and political stability.

#### **More on Buthelezi Remarks**

*MB1405182994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1710 GMT 14 May 94*

[Text] Ulundi May 14 SAPA—Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president and minister of home affairs Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi launched a stinging attack on the media for "demonising" him and his party in the run-up to the election. Addressing an IFP victory rally in the KwaZulu/Natal region on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi said: "We had no money, we had the media against us, we had gurus at universities against us." "I thank the editors and journalists who had a field day vilifying me both here and abroad."

He decried the fact that the IFP, which entered the election race late had only six days to campaign, adding that the confidence ordinary people had in his leadership

assured him victory. "Never in the history of democracy has any political party entered an election with just six days left to campaign and then go on to win as the IFP has done in KwaZulu/Natal."

Chief Buthelezi implored his supporters to work for reconciliation to overcome the hostilities in the townships and rural areas, caused by a drawn out internecine conflict which has claimed more than 10,000 lives in KwaZulu/Natal. "Go out and break down the barriers that divide you from your political opponents. Go out and spread the word of peace and reconciliation."

Chief Buthelezi said: "There can be no economic development in the region until we achieve peace. No businessman will want to invest in this region if his life is in danger. No investor will want to build factories if their factories are going to be burned down. We will have to work at political reconciliation if we are to end up with a national will to make democracy work for the benefit of the people."

He said South Africa's new coalition government faced a difficult task, adding that the politics of the dominant ANC partner differed in many respects from Inkatha's. "And yet, through this so-called government of national unity, we have to operate together jointly as a cabinet. It is not going to be easy," he warned. But he assured President Nelson Mandela of his cooperation.

Chief Buthelezi made it clear the IFP's election win in KwaZulu-Natal meant the government of KwaZulu-Natal was an IFP government. "The future of this region in relation to everything that has still to be settled can only be settled with the full agreement of the IFP and its leadership."

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP shared the objectives of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme, but cast doubt on the ability of the programme to achieve its stated goals. "We fear it that it may not work simply because it says that the government will provide everything to the people. Nowhere in the world has the state been able to provide for all the needs of a country's people."

#### **Buthelezi Thanks Church for Role in Ending Apartheid**

*MB1505205494 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2042 GMT 15 May 94*

[Text] Ulundi May 15 SAPA—Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Sunday underscored the church's role in rejecting apartheid and its importance as a force elevating the ideals of democracy and freedom.

Speaking at a KwaZulu day of prayer and thanksgiving, Mr Buthelezi said the church could emphasise the positive features of KwaZulu/Natal's divergence and plurality by encouraging the people of the region to feel mutual acceptance and respect for one another.

He said he believed the church could promote nation building and unity and could use its influence to promote a transition through non-violent, democratic and negotiated means.

The IFP president appealed to his followers to foster compassion for humanity to bring an end to violence and destruction. He called on people to rely on the church to provide strength in times of trouble and to resolve conflicts that arise "between you and your neighbours".

"The politics of reconstruction is more than the politics of pragmatic adjustments. It has to do with the rediscovery of nation building, and perhaps the most important contribution the church can make as our country struggles to find new direction, is the promotion of a sense of national unity", Mr Buthelezi said.

He urged South African leaders to turn away from the past to a fundamentally different kind of future. All South Africans needed to develop a resolute commitment to restitution and socio-political and economic reconstruction.

The KwaZulu/Natal region held great economic potential which could be unleashed by an autonomous regional government. This would require commitment to the establishment of a stable and prosperous economy from parties participating in the KwaZulu/Natal provincial legislature.

He told supporters the people of KwaZulu/Natal were at a [incomplete sentence as received].

#### **Housing Minister Outlines 'Ambitious' Plans**

*MB1405203694 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 13 May 94 p 2*

[Report by Tim Cohen]

[Text] New Housing Minister Joe Slovo spelt out preliminary but ambitious plans for his portfolio yesterday, including the establishment of a national housing bank and the implementation of a mortgage indemnity scheme.

An upbeat Slovo expressed support for agreements already achieved by the National Housing Forum, and endorsed the concept of the provision of housing as a kick-start for the economy.

Slovo said priority had to be given to the poor, who had been ignored largely in the past and had to be brought into the mainstream of policy. He stressed all major players would need to be engaged, especially the private sector, which had a "seminal" role to play. Slovo mooted the idea of a housing summit to gain wide involvement and establish a logic to the provision of housing, which had been somewhat "constipated."

The provision of housing could be a major generator of jobs, but for this to happen there had to be a great degree of market certainty to release the "latent energy" in the

sector. The idea of a national housing bank had to be realised, although the details needed to be planned with care. Slovo said one of his major tasks would be to develop a good relationship with the provincial housing administrations.

The ANC's reconstruction and development programme specified that 1-million "housing units" should be built within five years, which Slovo said was realisable although it might not be possible to build 370,000 houses in the first year.

Slovo said he was "over the moon" about his portfolio.

"We have been talking liberation, but this will be the beginning of making liberation... There is so much goodwill, I think there is a very good chance we can make a breakthrough."

#### **Statement Issued on Establishment of Relations With Libya**

*LD1405154994 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1440 GMT 14 May 94*

[“Text” of statement on the establishment of relations with Libya, issued in Pretoria on 14 May]

[Text] Pretoria, 14 May—The official announcement on the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level between the Great Jamahiriyyah and the Republic of South Africa was announced this morning in Pretoria, capital of South Africa.

This came in a statement issued today in Pretoria, the following of which is its text:

[Words indistinct] between the brother secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation and Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs minister of the Republic of South Africa, at the Foreign Ministry in Pretoria this morning, Saturday, the two countries have decided to establish diplomatic relations between them at the ambassadorial level.

The need for [word indistinct] diplomatic relations between the Great Jamahiriyyah and the Republic of South Africa stems from [word indistinct] the bases and principles of the Organization of African Unity, through which the two countries endeavor to pay attention to Africa's economic needs and encourage [word indistinct] relations.

#### **Mandela Cabinet Choices Termed 'Mixed Bag,' Examined**

*MB1305131794 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 13-19 May 94 p 18*

[Editorial: "Not Quite the Dream Team"]

[Text] A mixed bag—that's our verdict on the new cabinet. There are some excellent appointments; some truly appalling; and many that are just mediocre.

That makes it better than any cabinet this country has seen before, but leaves us disappointed that Nelson Mandela has not made the fullest and best use of the large amount of talent available to him. And there are some choices that are horrifyingly inappropriate.

The real shock must be the absence of Cyril Ramaphosa. Mandela has blundered badly by not finding or creating the right post to make full use of Ramaphosa's talents and experience in the cabinet.

Notable cabinet selections are:

—Dullah Omar, justice: A sensible choice, he has extensive court experience as both a lawyer and attorney. He will now be in charge of those judges that refused to release him from detention without trial in a notorious 1980s test case.

—Joe Slovo, housing: An inspired use of a practical man with the radical credibility to deal with the huge demands this ministry will face.

—Dr Nkoso Zuma, health: A sound decision. Health workers say she has experience and a good grasp of health policy, even though her public image is poor.

—Joe Modise, defence: The SADF generals may be happy to have a hawk with a tarnished reputation (for his failure to stop torture in exile camps), but anyone associated with Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] when he led it will tell you how poor a choice he is.

—Sidney Mufamadi, safety and security: An interesting choice, he has been groomed for the post.

—Dr Sibusiso Bhengu, education: An unexpected minister. He has had no involvement in any of the extensive policy and planning work in this field. As rector of Fort Hare, he had to leave after falling foul of an internal student conflict. Mandela probably had in mind that as a Zulu and a former IFP general secretary, he would help balance the cabinet.

—Alfred Nzo in foreign affairs is a surprise. There cannot be a less appropriate choice for such a critical post as this dour and ineffectual man who was ousted as ANC general secretary.

—Pallo Jordan, posts, telecommunications and broadcasting: The natural choice.

—Mac Maharaj, transport: Has been given a surprisingly junior post, but at least his talents are in the cabinet.

—Roelf Meyer, a Nat [National Party] that Mandela can trust, is a brilliant choice for provincial and constitutional affairs.

—Derek Hanekom, land: Will be a relief to anyone concerned with this issue. He has earned respect for his involvement in it in recent years, but will face a

tough task in his forced partnership with Kraai van Niekerk, who holds the post of agricultural minister.

—Stella Sigcau can only have been chosen for public enterprises because she is a traditional leader and one of the few women with cabinet experience, albeit in a homeland where she was ousted amid corruption charges by Bantu Holomisa, now a deputy minister.

—Derek Keys is a wise compromise in finance, particularly as he is fenced in by the formidable trio of Trevor Manuel in trade and industry, Jay Naidoo in reconstruction and Alec Erwin as deputy finance minister.

—Steve Tshwete was a natural choice for sport.

—If Mangosuthu Buthelezi had to have a senior post, home affairs is fairly neutral, though it means he will run future elections.

It is extraordinary that so important a reconstruction portfolio as welfare should be in the hands of a Nat with a dubious reputation, Abe Williams.

—Artists must be horrified at falling into the combined hands of the IFP's Ben Ngubane, minister of arts, culture, science and technology, and deputy minister Winnie Mandela. They will find themselves caught between a Zulu nationalist and a woman still under investigation for alleged corruption in the ANC department of welfare. What a disappointment in the very week when the president inauguration celebrations, a brilliant choreographed display of all-inclusive multiculturalism, showed us the power of cultures as a benign, unifying national force.

Some of the more controversial appointments are off-set by strong deputy ministerships, such as Valli Moosa in provincial affairs, Aziz Pahad in foreign affairs, and Penuell Manduna in home affairs. Others—such as education and welfare—will depend on strong appointments to the key posts of directors-general.

Mandela did reasonably well in negotiating a political, racial, and geographic balance, but made little attempt to achieve a gender balance.

He has assembled a team with some strengths, but too many weaknesses. The pity is that it could have been a dream team.

### **Country's Capacity for Economic Recovery Examined**

*MB1405162994 Johannesburg WEEKEND STAR in English 14 May 94 pp 1-2*

[Article by business editor John Spira]

[Text] Aid approaching R[and] 5 billion is poised to pour into South Africa. But it is nowhere near enough to lift an economy which, nevertheless, has the potential to achieve much-heightened growth rates.

Aid of about R1.7 billion a year might seem a lot of money. Yet perspective indicates that R1.7 billion worth of aid in the next 12 months is about equal to the cost of establishing one new gold mine. It's half the sum South Africa borrowed from the International Monetary Fund at the end of last year—funds used to bolster foreign exchange reserves which, in spite of that injection, are now, only five months later, under severe pressure. Indeed, in the first four months of 1994, the net reserves plummeted by R3.2 billion, equivalent to more than two years' worth of foreign aid.

Accordingly, the aid-to-SA [South Africa] conduit won't even begin to have a favourable impact on an economy desperately trying to emerge from five years of crippling recession. Not that we should be looking for handouts to pull us out of the economic mire. We need to be tugging ourselves up by our own bootstraps. Aid dents the pride of the nation and promotes a poor work ethic—as countries to our north have discovered at exorbitant cost. In short, the entire country has to get back to work—to work hard, efficiently, and assiduously. Is the nation prepared and able to do just this? The portents are promising. What remains is for the potential to be realised.

It is the new Government's most awesome task to get people into jobs, to train them to do those jobs well and to ensure that they keep doing them well. It won't be easy and it won't happen soon. The starting point is to enhance South Africa's economic growth rate. Even this year's predicted 3 percent is well short of the desired mark. Next year simply has to be 5 percent plus—and, if one is to take a less than jaundiced view of the future, it can be achieved. How?

- The psychology is right. All South Africans are suddenly on the same side, working for the same goals. No more is government at such odds with labour and business; no more is labour at such odds with business. Co-operation among all the aspects of production translates into meaningful economic growth.
- Foreign investment, as opposed to foreign aid, stands ready to enter an economy no longer constantly threatened by violence and labour unrest—an economy with a well-developed infrastructure, a sound legal system and one which offers an attractive platform for launching products into sub-Saharan Africa.
- Even without the post-apartheid benefits that are about to accrue, the economy has been emerging from recession. The major indicators are pointing up and, given a heightened level of foreign and domestic investment, they are poised to point yet higher.
- Inflation remains in single-digit territory. While many fear that the huge social upliftment expenditure targeted by the new Government will before long jerk inflation back into double digits, the substantial excess production capacity in the economy and the Reserve Bank's continued vigilance are notable ameliorating factors.

—International capital markets are now, as seldom before, ready to lend to South Africa. Although they involve a cost in the form of interest payments, if the funds thereby raised are used to expand the nation's productive base, the interest bill can be covered many times over by heightened exports and import replacement.

—Much local and foreign money is destined for education and training. Some dividends will be garnered only many years into the future. But some, particularly in the training arena, will accrue in the near term. In concert with the will to work hard, those dividends will help lubricate South Africa's economic engine.

—Interest rates are scheduled to decline in the near future as the balance of payments constraint is rendered less onerous by capital inflows. Cheaper money implies more investment in productive capacity and increased spending—vital ingredients for growth.

—The global economy is expanding. This is bound to benefit all exporting nations, including South Africa. In addition, the upturn is coinciding with a revival in the commodities cycle. And South Africa is among the world's leading exporters of gold, platinum, diamonds, coal, manganese, and chrome.

Too optimistic a scenario? Are there no flies in the economic ointment?

Earlier in the year, the gloom and doom merchants predicted that the election would bring chaos; that the Left-leaning elements in the ANC would drive the country down the communist precipice. Today they're silent. Business people are positive. The Johannesburg Stock exchange continues to scale new peaks, pointing to a future more prosperous than the recent past.

Even so, flies, among them exchange control, are by no means absent from the ointment.

International investors are invariably reticent about placing their money in a country which prevents its unfettered repatriation. They're wary of a country which aims to attract foreign capital via a discounted financial rand.

Why not, then, abolish exchange controls and scrap the financial rand? Because vast sums of funk money would leave our shores, plundering our scarce foreign exchange reserves. At least that's been the reason for the past decade or so. It's a reason which could evaporate if confidence is restored—confidence that South Africa does indeed have a bright future; confidence that capital seeks to flow into the country rather than out of it; confidence that democracy will bring with it responsible government of responsible citizens.

Ultimately, South Africa will row its own boat. Its oarsmen's determination, wisdom, and strength will determine its destiny.

**South African Press Review for 14 May**  
**MB1405114994**

[Editorial Report]

**WEEKEND STAR**

**Future Pitfalls**—While South Africa still faces political problems, "the pitfalls for the future lie rather in another direction," how South Africa "addresses the majority's aspirations" as the "new South Africa will live or die by the economic decisions it takes now," an editorial in the Johannesburg WEEKEND STAR in English on 14-15 May on page 10 notes. "Initial signs are encouraging. Mandela has retained Derek Keys as Finance Minister" and "surrounded him with solid choices" Trevor Manuel and Tito Mboweni. As "aid, as illustrated elsewhere in Africa, can become an unwelcome albatross for a young government attempting to find its feet," "the ANC's economists, in their dealings with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, have generally shown a healthy reluctance to get tied down by terms dictated to them." "Obviously it would be churlish for South Africa to turn its back on nations anxious to help it through a testing period. But the government must exercise the utmost caution before it dives into waters containing dangerous undercurrents."

**NEW NATION**

**Acknowledging Sacrifices**—It was a "joyous week" for South Africa, but "it is important that we acknowledge the sacrifices that have been made by so many who have not lived to join in this feast of our freedom," an editorial in Johannesburg NEW NATION in English on 13 May on page 7 states. "We must recognize that the suffering" of Mozambique "was a direct consequence of the role that country and its people played in the struggle against apartheid." Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] was "spawned by those who orchestrated apartheid's defense." And the "devastating" suffering in Angola "mainly because of the help it gave to the ANC in its battle against apartheid." UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] "continues to exist and fester in Angola only because it was expedient from the point of view of apartheid." The help of Zambia's Kaunda and Tanzania's Nyerere was not "adequately" acknowledged and "it needs to be said very forcefully" that "we might not have been in a position to celebrate a victory this week had it not been for the Cubans" who "committed their lives to defeating apartheid's defense force at Cuito Cuanavale." "While the debt we owe these nations is not one we can pretend we will be able to settle, we must at least acknowledge it."

**Reconciliation**—"Much has been said about the need for reconciliation" and "without a doubt" it "must be one of our priorities," the second editorial in the 13 May NEW NATION notes. However, "as important as reconciliation is, we must ensure that we do not pursue this objective with romantic enthusiasm." "We must remember that the victory we recorded was not without

immense cost." While "we cannot forget that some of the most senior ministers in the GNU [Government of National Unity] were among those that sat in the State Security Council in P W Botha's government," "this is not to suggest that we need to be suspicious of those we work with. Instead what we need is vigilance." And truth cannot "become a casualty as we offer indemnity to political criminals in our pursuit of reconciliation." Murders committed to defend apartheid "cannot be pardoned or even considered for indemnity."

**BEELD**

**Parliament Gains New Wealth**—The Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans of 10 May in a page 10 editorial points out that "few generations are privileged to witness in so short a time so many highlights becoming instant history." "How different the process has been to the predictions of the prophets of doom." "Today we can look in the mirror and no longer see the monster of oppression or the skunk of apartheid, but something beautiful and just. Above all, something democratic, because that is the heartbeat of the new beginning. No institution is holy. If South Africa had not reformed, Parliament and the Union Buildings could have eventually become the seats of a revolutionary regime, or useless museums standing as witness to the absolute stupidity of generations of Afrikaners and whites who refused to adapt. But now Parliament and the Union Buildings have gained a new use, a new wealth, new ideas which witness the diversity of the country." "South Africa has completed its transition not with revolutionary rumbling, but with dignity, courtesy, and respect for institutions representing law and order. We wish the new rulers strength and wisdom. Our deepest hope is that eventually all South Africans will enjoy the fruits of this change. Because that is the noblest ideal behind all the changes: to make South Africa a more beautiful, better, and safer place for all."

**South African Press Review for 15 May**  
**MB1505105194**

[Editorial Report]

**SUNDAY TIMES**

**Stem Past Excesses**—While "few leaders come to power on tides of warmth and goodwill such as President Nelson Mandela enjoys," the "afterglow" is expected to last a "brief period" when "the new president must strike the major themes of his term of office, and win to his purpose the major constituencies of a complex society," an editorial in the Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 15 May on page 22 notes. "The country at large has been caught up in social turbulence since Sharpeville, since before Mr Mandela went to jail, and the backwash swirls around him: unrealistic expectations, lingering angers and spites, destructive behaviour designed to make a country ungovernable rather than to make it succeed, and habits of dependency, resentment and irresponsibility." And the "greatest threat to the

future" is the "flight of capital, the wariness of investors that arise from perceptions of crime, random violence, labor indiscipline, rampant white-collar crime, fiscal profligacy, ostentatious mandarism and all the other social ills the country inherits from the NP [National Party]." "Mr Mandela's first challenge is to set a different tone" and deal with a civil service "adept at looting, a parasite class." "Mr Mandela is the only leader in a generation who has had the moral stature to call this nation back to work, to impose a stern discipline and to command patience. He should not hesitate to impose on his administration his own instincts for order, frugality and propriety."

#### SUNDAY NATION

Vigilance—Following the inauguration last week, this country is "bound together with a sense of optimism about the future," "the unfolding process could certainly represent a genuine change of fortune for the country—but only if some of the basic needs of the deprived majority see signs that their vote is working for them to usher a new era," an editorial in Johannesburg NEW NATION in English on May 15 on page 10 states. Strikes in Transkei, Bophuthatswana and among Eastern and Western Cape interpreters "mark the beginning of many tests which our newly-found freedom will be subjected to" and "further trouble could either be contained or be allowed to spread to areas like Ciskei, Venda, Lebowa and even Qwaqwa." "It is true that in our newly-attained democracy, the right to strike is part of the workers' democratic right in order to achieve their desired result. But this should take place in a disciplined fashion." "Our liberation was a costly one and we need to defend it with everything at our disposal. Should we relax, we should know that we are sitting on a powder keg which will consume all."

#### BEELD

RSA Can Be Rainbow of Hope—"Yesterday at the Union Buildings the world was witness to the formal birth of a new South Africa committed to justice, peace, and dignity for all its people," says a page 12 editorial in the Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans of 11 May. "President Nelson Mandela said after his inauguration before world leaders that we are a rainbow nation which has made peace with itself and the world. The leaders who cheered his statement are now morally bound to help make the new South Africa a success in its growth and development. But their role is limited. The lead will still have to be given by President Mandela and deputy Presidents F. W. de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki. However, "they cannot tackle the great task ahead alone. There rests on the shoulders of all of us a great responsibility. The people who set aside their grievances to stand peacefully and patiently in line to vote will now have to work hard to maintain peace and reconciliation, and make South Africa a country of security and prosperity for all its people." "If South Africa can achieve success, it will be a rainbow of hope and promise to the rest of the world."

Constructive U. S. Approach Welcomed—A second editorial on page 12 of BEELD argues: "The presence in South Africa of a high level U. S. government delegation led by Vice President Al Gore, First Lady Hillary Clinton, and Trade Secretary Ron Brown is more significant that it would appear on the surface. Not only do they represent the most senior U. S. delegation yet to visit South Africa; their visit follows shortly after the announcement of the 'Clinton Plan' of economic and social upliftment for South Africa involving 2.16 billion rands over the next 3 years. It also follows on the U. S. President's earlier initiative to encourage his private sector to invest in the new South Africa. It is therefore clear that the Clinton administration is busy putting words into action and reaching out a helping hand as no recent U. S. administration has done. This—hopefully with the enthusiastic support of the G-7 countries—could provide the spark which the South African economic engine desperately needs, and which could eventually contribute to sustained growth. This new, constructive approach is most welcome."

Police Now Serve Accepted Government—A third editorial on the same page quotes Archbishop Desmond Tutu's statement in Cape Town on Monday that the police deserve praise for their role that day, and his reference to them as "our police." BEELD continues: "These words by Bishop Tutu encapsulate the new dynamic which is moving into so many areas of South African society." "That Bishop Tutu can now, together with all South Africans, speak of 'our police' is not due to changes to the force, but is due to the birth of the new constitutional dispensation. The police are no longer enforcing the laws of a minority government, but of a generally accepted government of all South Africa. There is still a long road ahead for the development of real loyalty to institutions of authority and new symbols. It can be achieved. A divided nation needs to heal the wounds of the past in order to strengthen itself. In fact, it's not only 'our police' or 'our defense force' or 'our flag,' it's 'our country.'"

#### South African Press Review for 16 May

MB1605120894

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

PWV Provincial Cabinet Viewed—"The ANC, entitled to seven out of 10 portfolios in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging], has retained the real heavy-weight positions," begins the Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 16 May in a page 10 editorial. "It is clear that Premier Tokyo Sexwale has borne in mind the party's allies—Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and the SACP [South African Communist Party]—as well as SANCO [South African National Civics Organization] in constituting his cabinet." These men are apartheid survivors, "but their single-minded involvement in the struggle against apartheid has a down side when it comes to assuming the reins of power. Few

have had either the training or the necessary experience of formal, specialised administration which would assist them in the task ahead." The move to provide "strategic management teams" to support Cabinet ministers is welcomed, but delivering on election promises is what will make or break the government.

### BUSINESS DAY

**Budget Priorities for New Government**—"This week one of the toughest tasks of government begins in earnest—finalising the settling of spending priorities ahead of next month's national budget," states the Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 16 May in a page 12 editorial. ANC economic officials want to be judged by the 1995/96 budget, but the 94/95 budget "will nevertheless provide some early indications of what is to come." The rest of the editorial questions whether Minister Without Portfolio Jay Naidoo is "equipped" to coordinate the Reconstruction and Development Program with other ministers.

**Democratic Party's "Devastating Blow" in Election**—"Despite the support of the bulk of the English language Press, the Democratic Party [DP] was comprehensively rejected at the polls," begins the Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 16 May in a page 12 editorial. "It was a devastating blow to a party that so often stood alone in its dedication to democracy itself. It played an important role, not only in opposing apartheid in the dark years but in championing the rights of the individual in the shaping of the interim constitution. Yet it was defeated by what DP chairman Ken Andrew correctly described as the forces of history—the ANC and the National Party." Continuing the editorial states that "there is no reason why it should not establish itself again as a voice commanding respect." "Zach de Beer's departure gives the party the chance to make a fresh start."

### \* French Paper Reports Views on Economy

#### Unbundling of Cartels Questioned

94AF0187A Paris LE MONDE (Economic Supplement) in French 26 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Marc Roche: "Decartelization an Optical Illusion"]

[Text] The multinationals that control 80 percent of the shares on the Johannesburg stock exchange have prepared themselves for the country's first multiracial elections. Ostensibly, to make the transition to economic power sharing. In reality, to shelter their assets....

London—"We must encourage participation of South Africa's blacks in the mining and financial groups; it can only be beneficial to all sides." For the Anglo-American Corporation, the 30 March announcement of the dismantling of the cartel's Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company (JCI) subsidiary marks an historic step on the road to "the new South Africa." A new leaf, oh yes, by all that's holy! "Anglo" directors swear up and

down that the break-up of the large industrial group—which encompasses independent entities in such diverse domains as gold, coal, agrofood, the press, and breweries—is bound to create many jobs at every level that are open to blacks.

But serious London analysts of the South African economy are not fooled: "Modification of the corporate structure and the opening of a few companies amount to nothing more than the business community throwing a few scraps to Mandela. It is a phony dismemberment that does not redistribute any national wealth to black entrepreneurs," opines one city expert. Julian Ogilvie Thompson, current president of Anglo-American and de Beers, has already taken the precaution of purchasing JCI's highly lucrative platinum division and its 16-percent interest in de Beers, the world's biggest diamond firm.

The extraordinary high-wire maneuvering by South Africa's big multinationals in preparation for the first multiracial elections has led entrepreneurs—English-speakers and Afrikaners—to coin a new term: unbundling [preceding word in English] (literally, decartelization). Does it amount to a cultural revolution, with white businesses cooperating in economic power sharing and agreeing to be melted down into the new mold? Or is it all a conjuring trick, allowing a handful of groups to continue controlling the economy?

Appearances would tend to support the former version, but the truth is probably closer to the latter.

### Mastodons

Anglo-American-de Beers; Rembrandt Group; Old Mutual; Sanlam; Liberty Life.... Whenever one thinks about the South African economy, the temptation is to identify it with these five groups, which like all-devouring octopi control between them 80 percent of the stock on the Johannesburg exchange. These ubiquitous mastodons hold interests in every domain and have swollen to enormous size through acquisitions.

For a very long time, the ultrastrict controls on foreign exchange (through the intermediating mechanism of a dual market for the South African rand), which prevented them from investing abroad, constrained these giants to invest in sectors quite remote from where they started. Their structure is pyramidal, via holding companies at the top that have permitted a handful of great families such as Oppenheimer, Rupert, and Gordon to keep control over their assets without holding a majority of their subsidiaries' stock. As defenders see it, such a financial system protects the companies against hostile takeover bids, inspires confidence in the banking sector, and makes it easier to raise the capital needed for large investment projects, notably in mining and mineral exploration.

Until just recently, Brian Gilbertson headed a shadowy group known as Gencor. A year ago, Sankorp, the investment holding company, itself a subsidiary of the

Sanlam insurance company, granted "independence" to four of Gencor's subsidiaries: Malback (pharmacy), Sappi (lumber industry), Engen (oil refining), and Genbel (finance).

This "vertical" dismemberment was effected to enable Gencor, the world's large producer of platinum and second-largest producer of gold, to shift the focus back to its mining activities. To hear its president talk, the break-up came in response solely to the financial imperative of reducing the incongruous disparity between the relatively weak stock market performance of the subsidiaries and the stronger performance of the conglomerate's stock.

This capital restructuring was also intended to allay the apprehensions of big American and British institutional investors, which distrust conglomerates that are too complex. "These massive, hypercentralized conglomerates are real dinosaurs that no longer have a place on the contemporary economic landscape, since their boards of directors cannot really be made accountable to shareholders," says Steve Oke of the Smith New Court firm.

But what is most intriguing is the political significance of this far-reaching restructuring. Sankorp, for example, sold its 10-percent interest in an insurance company to an insurance group, Methold, held by black interests. The ANC, after being consulted discreetly by Finance Minister Derek Keys, Gencor's CEO from 1986 to 1991, gave the green light.

#### Offshore

But to infer from this that South Africa's future will be one of sweetness and light.... Well, as commentators have pointed out, most of the recent dismantlings—with Gencor the major exception—have led to the creation of extraterritorial offshore vehicles intended primarily to protect overseas holdings. Such is the case with Anglo-American, which controls nearly 40 percent of de Beers, which itself controls about 30 percent of the former. In October 1993, Anglo-American transferred all its non-South African interests except for diamonds to a "screen" company, Minorco, 75 percent of whose stock is held by the Oppenheimer family. Established about two decades ago as a portfolio company, Minorco has become a mining enterprise in its own right. "Well played! Thanks to Minorco, which is now its secular arm overseas, Anglo-American can present itself as a purely African operator. Anglo can tell Mandela that all its investments are either local or in neighboring countries," says one observer.

#### Skepticism

As for de Beers, it founded the Zurich-based de Beers Centenary AG, which has acquired synthetic diamond fabrication plants, financial interests in several holding companies, and quantities of diamonds from the Central Selling Organization in London. For its part, de Beers Consolidated Mines retains only South African interests. The two companies are run by the same man, Julian

Ogilvie Thompson, and have the same board of directors—and shares in them cannot be purchased separately on the stock exchange.

South Africa's second biggest industrial house, the Rupert family, has a Swiss holding company, Richemont (established 1988), that controls foreign assets, notably the maker of Rothmans cigarettes and luxury brands Cartier and Alfred Dunhill. South African assets are managed by a separate company, Rembrandt. Johann Rupert, the founder's son, holds only an honorary title as director of Richemont, but he keeps close watch on the illustrious luxury companies it manages. He's always levelheaded and ready for dialogue with the ANC, but firm and even intransigent when it comes to the essentials: the interests of his group. It is the same with Nicky Oppenheimer, who is "only" vice president of Anglo and de Beers but keeps close tabs on titular director Julian Ogilvie Thompson.

These maneuvers by the white capitalists have been greeted with skepticism in London. Some observers have pointed out that while the word nationalization may be banned from ANC's vocabulary now, Nelson Mandela's party has vowed to break the mining oligopolies with antitrust legislation. But only a wizard could say when and how any new regulations might force these national "institutions" to give up any of their wealth.

Given the great danger of economic paralysis in South Africa, the enormity of the task awaiting the new government team, and the commercial inexperience and financial weakness of potential black shareholders, analysts are under no illusions: The era of the great South African cartels has not yet ended.

#### De Beers Cultivates ANC

94AF0187B Paris LE MONDE (Economic Supplement)  
in French 26 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by M. de V.: "De Beers, the Untouchable"]

[Text] Founded more than a century ago, this conglomerate with a world monopoly on the diamond trade remains faithful to itself: secretive, hegemonic, paternalistic, and sure of its future...

"I know from experience that the only possible way to safeguard the stability of the sector is by limiting the supply of diamonds and selling through a single distribution network," Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, president of de Beers at the turn of the century, used to say. Faithful to itself, and faithful to this principle, the conglomerate founded in 1888 by Cecil Rhodes—creator of Rhodesia, obsessed by Great Britain's expansion into Africa—owns half the world's production of uncut diamonds and markets 80 percent.

Since 1931, diamonds have escaped the almost constant erosion of prices of other raw materials. A miraculous survivor among luxury products, this "king of gems" and "teardrop of the gods" is still in insolently good health; and de Beers, a fairly accurate gauge of the industry's

condition since it holds the monopoly on diamonds, is in equally excellent shape: The group's turnover for 1993 was \$4.444 billion, compared to \$3.640 the preceding year. In this recessionary period, it is probably the only one to have recorded "record sales," and it displays a serenity and faith in its own future that would be the envy of many other companies.

Its assurance is expressed in more than mere words: de Beers is making long-term investments, on several fronts, with astonishing audacity: in the conquest of new markets—its budget for this is almost unequalled anywhere—in consolidation—with all its uncertainties!—in agreements with producer countries, in exploring new deposits, and above all in constantly keeping supply in balance with demand—even when stocks are excessive...and cost is no object.

Zaire thinks it is independent enough to start selling stones directly to Israeli diamond cutters? Well, then, de Beers just signs an exclusive contract with Israel and buys them up itself. The guerrillas in Angola have decided to go into the diamond business? It spends \$400 million to block the deal. Russia "forgets" the protocols it signed? It renegotiates, slowly but surely convincing the backsliders—by what means?—to get back in line, i.e., the de Beers line. In addition, it monitors and controls the distribution system with such arrogant precision that it sells to its clients "only as much as is likely to be sold." It prefers to hoard all the rest, to make sure the cutters do not warehouse too much merchandise.

### Hegemony

Does de Beers behave like a sovereign government? Is it authoritarian, even hegemonic, behind its velvet facade? Certainly. But one must admit it has succeeded where international agreements and producer cartels have failed. Secretive—it seems to keep key information under wraps as part of its power strategy—and paternalistic, it is reaping the fruits of its founders' vision.

What did Harry Oppenheimer, son of Ernest, say back in 1948? "All workers should participate in the success of their business and should benefit directly from its profits; apartheid, which amounts to disguised slavery in the mines, can lead only to impasse." And he supported the creation of miners' unions in the sector. Because stable labor relations, as he saw it, were key to steady production.

So de Beers today is cultivating "courteous" relations with Mandela's entourage. In that regard, it is significant that the former secretary general of the miners' union, Cyril Ramaphosa, number-two man in the ANC, is the announced successor to Mandela.

This attractive blend of fine-tuned philanthropy and judicious liberalism is characteristic of de Beers. Neither Cecil Rhodes nor the Oppenheimer dynasty would take offense at the charming words the company's current

president has to say about Mandela. Because the company has already taken appropriate precautions to protect its wealth: In 1990, when the ANC revealed its intent to nationalize South African companies, de Beers immediately transferred its capital to Lucerne, Switzerland.

In South Africa itself, nothing remains but the extraction company (de Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.). Whatever happens in South African politics, Julian Ogilvie Thompson can still sleep soundly on a pillow of diamonds.

### Role in Regional Economics Mooted

94AF0187C Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Serge Marti: "A Market of 115 Million Inhabitants"]

[Text] Installed to collect information needed in the struggle against the communist enemy back in the Cold War days, the computers at the Silvermine defense intelligence station situated near the Simon's Town naval base, about 20 km from the Cape of Good Hope, are now obsolete. But the "Cape route" for shipping and the 3,000 km of South African coastline are still of prime geostrategic importance and a major economic asset. Located at the confluence of major commercial routes, the country has port, road, and rail infrastructure that is both a gateway to the rest of the African continent and a natural outlet for southern African countries that have no direct access to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

Despite—or perhaps because of—the relative international isolation forced upon it as a result of its policy of "separate development," South Africa also has become a true regional economic power. Sitting on a vast heap of gold (the country has 50 percent of global reserves) and diamonds (25 percent), it furnishes 52 percent of the electricity, 83 percent of the steel, and 97 percent of coal products for the whole continent, and provides half its industrial production.

Now that the country is committed to the path of democratizing its institutions and opening up to the outside world, the wealth that was built on a foundation of racial inequality and discrimination is both seductive and worrisome to its neighbors, who are frightened at the hegemonic tendencies that might emerge in the "new South Africa."

The international community, deaf to misgivings frequently articulated by experts on the region—"Southern Africa stands to South Africa in the same relationship that Europe would stand to Germany, if Germany were all Europe had"—is trying once again to evoke that "Afro-optimism," which so often miscarried in the past as one African country after the next fell into insolvency. And it dares to hope that this "politico-socio-economic laboratory" with its eyes turned (at least for the moment) toward Europe, its principal trading partner—a laboratory situated midway between two high-growth zones, Asia Pacific and Latin America, whose future seems assured at least for a generation—will be the engine of

economic development that sub-Saharan Africa so desperately needs. "Nigeria and South Africa are the only big economic powers capable of stabilizing the African continent," says one observer familiar with these countries.

It is an observed fact that South Africa's trade with its neighbors comprises only a very small part (less than 7 percent) of its total external commerce—the country's inward looking orientation was deplored by the African Development Bank in a recent report prepared at the request of Egypt's Hosni Mubarak. All the more reason to expect, now that South Africa has turned over a new ideological leaf and the former so-called frontline states opposed to apartheid have done the same, that trade will expand among the southern African countries with their combined population of 115 million inhabitants—who represent 115 million potential consumers—however slowly the economic capacity of their respective countries might grow.

#### Regional Integration

The next phase should be real regional integration, in stages, by means of economic cooperation instruments whose role now needs to be reexamined. This is the working hypothesis advanced by Alan Hirsch, assistant director and economics instructor at Cape University, one of the architects of South Africa's future commercial policy, which was drawn up for Mandela's ANC.

"Our neighbors have no reason to fear economic domination from our side. On the contrary, it is in our interest to help them expand their own economies," he says. This white official, head of Cape's development policy research unit, developed the theory at the meeting in Gaborone (Botswana) last February, in collaboration with the ANC's "external trade relations" team and representatives of the southern African countries.

This regional miniconference afforded an opportunity to see the extremely cautious approach taken by both sides. While the other countries in the region may favor increased cooperation with Pretoria, they realize very clearly that in many product areas, competition is likely to prevail over complementarity. "There is such a gulf between South Africa and its neighbors that there is a risk of killing embryonic industries in Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe," one expert confirmed.

On the South African side, the "Mandela team," and hence the future government of national union, although describing itself as intensely interested in relations with its neighbors, does not intend to be diverted from the top priority of the hour, amelioration of the country's domestic situation. However, the ANC has not ruled out consideration of other partners. "We do want access to other markets besides Europe and southern Africa," says Mr. Hirsch, adding that ANC already has made contacts with the United States to ask for most favored nation [MFN] status. The big lesson learned from the Gaborone

meeting was that if integration is going to happen, the panoply of regional accords now in force will have to be revised.

These agreements come in several different forms, from simple free trade area to customs union, and even the beginnings of what might evolve into a regional common market—"our own version of the European Union," as President de Klerk puts it. Already the region has a Common Monetary Area (CMA); a monetary union comprising South Africa, Botswana, and Swaziland; and a South African Customs Union (SACU) that includes South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia (since its independence in 1990), and Swaziland.

In addition to these monetary and customs institutions, there are economic cooperation agreements. The most important of these is the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) that encompasses 18 central and east African countries but until now has excluded South Africa. The Southern Africa Development and Coordination Conference (SADCC) composed of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe has set its sights higher. Revamped in 1993 as the South African Development Community (SADC), it intends to put its political past behind it.

#### Immigration Issue

In all likelihood, the future integration of the region, with Pretoria as catalyst, will be grafted onto PTA and SADC. But do not forget: It is not going to happen in the immediate future. "Hopes of seeing South Africa play a major role in the region are probably exaggerated," says the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in a study on the country's future that appeared in the house magazine, *OBSERVER*. "The private sector is clearly less committed to investing in the region than was hoped, if only in terms of the small volume of investments in South Africa itself," add the authors of the article, underscoring the country's need to resolve its own internal problems before anything else.

One of these is the increasing volume of immigration from neighboring countries, which certainly will add new complications to future commercial or economic negotiations among the southern African countries. Mandela warned some time ago that South Africa could not afford to become "the job market for the entire region." More bluntly, his entourage has openly admitted it will be necessary to "deport 2 million undesirables" hailing from such places as Zaire and Mozambique. The future government of national union may adopt legislation to this end.

Meanwhile, an ANC delegation visited France early this year for talks with Interior Minister Charles Pasqua. No doubt Pasqua's lieutenants provided the ANC representatives with some "tried-and-true" prescriptions in this domain.

## \* Future of White Cultural Heritage Questioned

### \* ANC's Wally Serote Interviewed

94AF0161A Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
15 March 94 p 11

[Interview with Mr. Wally Serote, ANC's Cultural Affairs Chief, by Philip de Bruin; place and date not given: "Government Should Bring Cultures Together; White South Africans Are Concerned About the Future of Cultural Heritage and Symbols"]

[Text] "The top priority in my department is to see to it that South Africa acquires a minister of art and culture.

"Historically speaking, South Africa has three cultural pillars—that of the whites, that of the Indians, and that of the blacks. Our task is to ensure that these three cultural groups cooperate to such a degree that a distinctive South African culture is created.

"To attain this goal, my department has already set up a commission of reconstruction to determine, among other things, what we can do to stimulate art and culture in the townships and the rural areas, for this is where most of the people are.

"We must begin with the premise that every person has the right to live in accordance with his own culture and to express its outward manifestations. We must accept the fact that every individual has the right to use his own language.

"If, for example, I want to speak Afrikaans, then I speak Afrikaans, without apologizing to anyone.

"The role of the government will simply be to bring the cultural groups together and to correct imbalances in the community. There are no organized cultural activities in black neighborhoods, for example. This state of affairs must be remedied.

"But in the final analysis, the people have to play the most important role. All the people of the nation must reach consensus about how the imbalances of apartheid are to be put right."

The ANC has definite plans concerning the continued existence of monuments and museums.

"The first question that has to be asked is whether the museum in question is to have national, regional, or group status.

"We are aware of the sensitivity and emotional content of such issues, but everyone has to accept the fact that changes are going to be made.

"What, for example, is to become of Robben Island? Our contention is that it should become a monument that can serve as a symbol of the struggle against discrimination that was waged there.

"The museums that now exist are not representative of the entire population. We want to change museums in places where people can see not only objects from the past, but also present-day items. Museums must be alive. There must be restaurants. People from the various population groups must get to know one another there.

"Then there is the whole question of symbolism and statuary. The government must consult with the people of the nation on this score. All the people of the country must be convinced of the fact that all symbols and statues belong to everyone. This does not mean that the Voortrekker Monument or the statue of President Paul Kruger in Church Square, Pretoria will come crashing down after 27 April.

"My feeling is that such monuments and statues must be left as they are. The question is simply this: Can they always be recognized as national symbols? Speaking of the Voortrekker Monument, I believe that this is not the case. Existing monuments and statues will only be eliminated if absolutely necessary."

What about the names of symbols, cities or streets that remind us of the apartheid era, such as the town of Verwoerdburg?

"This is once again a case where a new government must consult with the people of the nation concerning whether or not such names have an offensive content."

Concerning the future of Afrikaans in a country with eleven official languages, Mr. Serote says that negotiations between the ANC and the government for the establishment of a language council are in progress. "We shall have to examine how each language is used in each province, how it is used in education, the media, and the world of work?

"But if I wish to speak Afrikaans in parliament, I must be able to do so. If you go to see your doctor, you must be able to communicate with him in the language of your choice. All people feel strongly about their language. We must respect their feelings.

"This holds true for education as well. An Afrikaans-speaking child must receive his instruction in Afrikaans.

Concerning the question of a national flag and anthem, Mr. Serote says: "The ANC has put certain proposals before the Executive Transitional Council, and the council has to make decisions in this respect. Our proposal is that a new flag has to symbolize unity in South Africa.

"Furthermore we have recommended six colors: green, yellow, red, white, blue, and black.

"With respect to a new national anthem, the ANC has yet to make its final proposals. Whether "The Voice" will survive is a question that is still under discussion."

**\* Editorial Response to Serote**

94AF0161B Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
16 March 94 p 10

[Unattributed article: "Cultural Danger"]

[Text] The cultural attitude of the ANC, as expounded in an interview with BEELD, is most disturbing and should incite all cultural organizations to take action. For it represents a school of thought that endangers the free exercise of culture. It is also a disavowal of principles in the new constitution.

Wally Serote, the ANC cultural leader, says that organizations that exclude those who are not members of a certain racial or language group—such as the Messengers, the Junior Messengers, and the Dynamic Young Ladies—will not be tolerated in a new South Africa under an ANC government. Their days are numbered, for this is discrimination.

We should like to refer Mr. Serote to Article 3 of the new constitution. This deals with fundamental rights and declares among other things that: "Every person has the right to freedom of association."

This simply means that one has the right to associate with other people, a woman with other women, an Afrikaner with other Afrikaners, a Zulu with other Zulus, etc. Of course, groups will also have the right to be formed along language lines. This has nothing to do with degrading discrimination, but everything to do with the right of people to protect and expand their own cultural inheritance.

To the best of our knowledge, all Afrikaner cultural organizations (except those of the rightists) are in the process of eliminating racial restrictions, so that such discrimination no longer exists.

The Serote standard would imply that Jewish organizations must close their doors, that a male chorus can no longer exist (discrimination against women!), that the hundreds or thousands of women's clubs in the country are inappropriate, etc. What absurdity! And what a weakening of cultural distinctions will it not indicate!

If this is the kind of thinking that is at the heart of the ANC, the entire cultural life of the nation is threatened. Such a policy has the potential of turning South Africa into another Bosnia—far more than do any other controversial ANC policies such as nationalization, for example.

**Ghana****Premises of 'Free Press in Accra' Defaced**

*AB1405132894 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 0600 GMT 13 May 94*

[Text] The Private Newspaper Publishers' Association, PRINPAG, condemned the attack on the offices of the Free Press in Accra, in which unknown assailants smeared the place with night [as heard] soil. A statement issued by the association described the attack as part of a long chain of acts of commissions and omissions, which have been calculated to intimidate the independent press into abandoning its responsibility of contributing to the building of a decent society in which the principles of probity and accountability are respected. The private media representative on the National Media Commission, Mr. Adu Kwabena Asem has, in a similar statement condemned the soiling of the premises of the free press.

**Benin****President Soglo Appoints Supreme Court President**

*AB1305112594 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT 12 May 94*

[Excerpt] At yesterday's cabinet meeting, Yves Donatien Yaossi was appointed Supreme Court president. Other appointments were made in the Ministries of Public Works, Industry, and Small- and Medium- Scale Enterprises. Here is a report on the proceedings by Theodore Holo, minister in charge of relations with parliament and government spokesman:

[Begin Holo recording] At the meeting, the president of the Republic signed a decree appointing Yves Donatien Yaossi as Supreme Court president with the approval of the speaker of the National Assembly and in accordance with the provisions of Article 135 of the constitution. According to Article 2 of the above decree, before taking up his appointment, Yves Donatien Yaossi will take the oath as laid down by the law. [passage omitted] [end recording]

**Bar Explosion in Cotonou Injures 3**

*AB1405131794 Paris AFP in French 1112 GMT 14 May 94*

[Text] Cotonou, 14 May (AFP)—A Frenchman and two Togolese and Beninese women were injured yesterday evening following an explosion in a Cotonou bar, the bar owner reported today.

The unidentified explosive was placed in toilet of "Le Calao" bar situated in town center. The explosion took place at 2200 GMT. The Togolese women, who sustained head injuries, was the most seriously hurt.

The French national, Marc Decoin, who has settled in Benin for the past three years and deals in secondhand cars imported from France, received some splinters in the face.

**Burkina Faso****Minister, Unions Discuss Salary Increases**

*AB1405153494 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1300 GMT 13 May 94*

[Text] The highlight of this morning is the resumption of the consultations between the government and the labor unions. The meeting was convened to present the government's responses to workers' demands contained in the memorandum submitted to the prime minister by the labor unions on 1 May. Here is Braimah Ouedraogo with a report.

[Ouedraogo] A pay rise is out of the question. According to the explanations of the budget minister, an increase of 40 to 50 percent will result in a budget deficit of 93 billion and 97 billion respectively. Therefore, there are no funds to finance such a pay rise. Fuel prices cannot also be reduced since they are no longer standardized.

The commerce, industry, and mines minister, who was present, talked about the establishment of a market street which would enable small traders to obtain cheap stalls. He also talked about the National Grains Office [OFNACER] and the Faso Yaar [state-owned marketing organization]. OFNACER has already been liquidated and the minister assured consumers in high-risk areas that cereal shortages could be covered by SONAGES [expansion unknown]. However, the Faso Yaar could not be rehabilitated despite the unions' demands. This is a sector that the state has transferred to the private sector in order to make it more efficient. The state is reported to have lost more than 6 billion CFA francs in organizations such as the Faso Yaar.

Finally, concerning pharmaceuticals, the health minister outlined a number of measures taken to protect people's pockets. These include negotiations with the French Pharmaceutical Producers Union for the latter to reduce wholesale prices. With the 2 billion granted by France as post-devaluation subsidy for pharmaceutical imports, there are plans for price cuts of 20 to 25 percent in the next few days. The health minister promised to reduce the number of pharmaceutical importers, which should lead to a considerable reduction in retail prices for the people.

**Commercial Cooperation Accord Signed With Ghana**

*AB1505145694 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 13 May 94*

[Excerpt] The Ghana Exports Promotion Council [GEPC] and the Burkinabe National External Trade Board [ONCEB] have signed a draft cooperation agreement. From now on, the institutional relations between the ONCEB and the GEPC will be governed by the terms of this draft agreement according to which the two countries have agreed to consult each other at least once a year to establish and strengthen increased trade contacts between them and to facilitate the participation of their businessmen in trade fairs, exhibitions, and all

other commercial activities organized in each of the two countries. [passage omitted]

### **Liberia**

#### **NPFL Suspends Disarmament, Rules Out Talks With LPC**

*AB1305191294 Paris AFP in French 1217 GMT  
13 May 94*

[Text] Monrovia, 13 May (AFP)—No negotiations have been planned between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], the main armed faction in Liberia, and the Liberian Peace Council [LPC], an armed militia which has been harassing the NPFL for over eight months in the southwest of the country, an NPFL spokesman in Monrovia, John Richardson, told AFP today.

The beginning of discussions this week between the front and the LPC was announced on 6 May by the transitional government's information minister, Joe Mulbah, a former NPFL spokesman.

"We were not informed of this decision. Meeting the LPC would be tantamount to recognizing it. This would only encourage the formation of other armed groups," Mr. Richardson said.

Formed in 1993, the LPC is not a signatory to the peace accords concluded two months earlier between the NPFL; the United Liberation Movement [ULIMO], an armed faction; and the former Interim Government of National Unity [IGNU]; to put an end to the civil war that has been going on since December 1989.

Following these accords, a presidential council, a government, and a transitional assembly were set up with the participation of the three factions that signed the accords.

The disarmament of all the combatants, which should have taken place simultaneously, was suspended due to persistent confrontations between the NPFL and the LPC on the one hand, and rival ethnic clans within ULIMO on the other.

Mr. Richardson confirmed today that the NPFL had "stopped disarming, owing to the inability of the Economic Community of West African Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] to stop the fighting between the NPFL and the LPC, and the tribal clashes within ULIMO."

He stressed that his organization, however, confined itself to "a defensive position, in order to prevent those who want to derail the peace process."

#### **Nigerian, Guinean Troops Cited in ULIMO Arms Sales**

*AB1405163094 Gbarnga Radio ELRL in English  
1400 GMT 14 May 94*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The latest Nigerian-supported genocide against the innocent civilians has again opened

sore wounds regarding the neutrality of the Nigerian contingent within the multinational peacekeeping force in Liberia. Angry citizens in Gbarnga are calling on the leadership of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] to demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Nigerians from Liberia. The citizens also accused ECOMOG field commander General John Inengi, who is also a Nigerian, of misleading the people of this country into believing that the Nigerians, for peace sake, have turned over a new leaf only to realize that they are still bent on the destruction of innocent lives and property.

Local and international observers say the activities of the Nigerian troops within ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] are in themselves an obstacle to the peace process and that the only guarantee for lasting peace is the complete withdrawal of Nigeria from the process here. Since the inception of the civil crisis in Liberia, the Nigerians have continued to create splinter armed groups against the people of this country with direct support intended to prolong the civil crisis.

Evidence has emerged in Monrovia that the latest upsurge in fighting between rival ULIMO [United Liberian Movement for Democracy in Liberia] factions is being fueled by arms sales to both groups by ECOMOG. Intelligence sources in ECOMOG itself have relayed that the Guinean and Nigerian troops within the ECOMOG are involved in the sale of arms to the two fighting tribes within ULIMO. Our sources said the sale of arms to rival ULIMO factions involved some top-level personnel of the Nigerian and Guinean contingents of ECOMOG.

The report said the economic gain of the sale is the main factor behind the delay by ECOMOG to take any decisive step in (?securing and end) to the fighting between the two ULIMO forces.

The Koromah group is mainly supplied by the Guinean troops of ECOMOG while the Krahn faction is being supplied by the Nigerian contingent.

#### **ECOMOG Asks LPC To Declare Cease-Fire 'Unconditionally'**

*AB1405174594 Gbarnga Radio ELRL in English  
1200 GMT 14 May 94*

[Text] The all-African peacekeeping force has called on a group calling itself the Liberian Peace Council [LPC] to unconditionally declare a cease-fire and allow deployment of peacekeeping troops within its territory. Both ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, at a meeting with LPC representatives, repeated calls to the group to stop all hostilities in the southeast of the country without preconditions.

Recently, LPC leader, (George Kpolley) announced that the LPC is willing to cooperate with ECOMOG in

disarming its fighters, but stressed that security must be provided for LPC fighters before deployment of ECOMOG troops.

### **Krahn Loyalists Reportedly Capture Suehn**

*AB1405174894 Gbarnga Radio ELRL in English  
1200 GMT 14 May 94*

[Text] As the tribal infighting within ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] continues, Krahn loyalists have captured Suehn, some 25 miles outside Monrovia. Reports say scores of civilians are fleeing the combat zone and pouring into Veginga outside Monrovia.

The latest upsurge in fighting comes in the wake of repeated failure by the two opposing sides to honor a cease-fire agreement to end the fighting.

### **NPFL Senior Officers To Learn About Peace Accord**

*AB1505144894 Gbarnga Radio ELRL in English  
1400 GMT 14 May 94*

[Text] The chief of staff of the army division of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia], Lieutenant General (John Teah), says the purpose of the scheduled meeting today between the commanders and commander in chief of the NPFL is to educate senior NPFL officers on the peaceful implementation of the Cotonou Accord.

In an interview with Radio Liberia, Gen. Teah said that it is expected that after the meeting the various commanding generals and chiefs of staff of the NPFL will be able to instruct their men how best they can implement the Cotonou Peace Accord in Liberia.

## **Mali**

### **Talks End in Algiers Between Government, Azawad**

*LD1505225394 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic  
2200 GMT 15 May 94*

[Excerpts] In Sidi Fredj, Algiers, the proceedings ended officially this evening for the sessions of the follow-up committee for the implementation of the national agreement signed between the Malian Government and the unified Azawad movements and fronts. This came with the signing of the minutes of the meeting which is known as the Algiers meeting. The signing, supervised by the Algerian diplomacy, gives a fresh impetus to the Bamako agreement, and puts an end to the differences which for years prevented the carrying out of this agreement. Our colleague Bechir Hedibel attended the signing ceremony and sent us a report:

[Begin Hedibel recording] [passage omitted] The agreement provides for the integration of all the Azawad fighters in the Malian Government organs: army, police, customs, and administration. A tripartite committee has been formed and put in charge of implementing this provision, and it will start work next month. The committee is composed of representatives of the Malian Government, the unified Azawad movements and fronts and the mediating state, i.e.

Algeria. It has been agreed to integrate 1,500 fighters in the regular Malian Army, and 4,860 fighters in civil sectors, i.e. in the civil service. In the Algiers agreement, it has been agreed also to remove the military bases of the unified Azawad movements in northern Mali. In return, the northern population will benefit from development projects to break their isolation and integrate them in the regular administrative life of the state of Mali. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### **Government, Tuaregs Reiterate Desire To End Conflict**

*AB1405174194 Paris AFP in French 2239 GMT  
12 May 94*

[Excerpt] Niamey, 13 May (AFP)—The Niger Government and the Tuareg rebellion have reiterated their desire to end the conflict opposing them for close to three years now and which has left more than 100 dead, it was announced last night by a spokesman of the mediating countries. A mission of the representatives of France, Algeria, and Burkina-Faso "has observed the desire of the two sides to quickly pursue their efforts to resolve the problem opposing them," the spokesman indicated on national television. The government and the rebellion have "agreed" on the principle of another meeting whose date will be fixed "later", he added.

The mission has met with members of the High Commission for the Restoration of Peace, a government commission responsible for the Tuareg rebellion dossier, and representatives of the Coordination of the Armed Resistance, which comprises the four rebel movements. On 10 May, the mission also held discussions with President Mahamadane Ousmane, but no statement was issued at the end of this meeting.

This is the first time the representatives of the three mediating countries have undertaken a mission to Niger in connection with the settlement of this conflict. Only French mediator Jean-Francois Nodinet had until now taken such a step. Early in April, he had said that negotiations between the two sides would resume on 15 April, but they were once again postponed, just like those that were scheduled for the end of March. [passage omitted]

### **Tuaregs Launch 3 Attacks; 6 Killed; Several Injured**

*AB1405150394 Paris AFP in French 1348 GMT  
14 May 94*

[Text] Bamako, 14 May (AFP)—Six people were killed and several others wounded yesterday in Gao (northern Mali) following three attacks launched by Tuaregs, a reliable source reported today in Bamako.

The first incident broke out when three Tuaregs tried to seize a land cruiser near the central mosque. One of the bandits, caught by the crowd, was stoned and later burned while one of the remaining two was killed in an exchange of fire as he tried to run away.

A few hours later, several men belonging to the Tuareg community attacked the hospital, killing three civilians and wounding an undetermined number of people. Also, on the night of 13 May, some Tuaregs threw grenade canisters into a house in Gao, killing one woman and injuring one child, the same source added.

These incidents come at a time when representatives of the Malian Government and the Unified Movement and Front of Azaouad (MFUA, former Tuareg rebels) have been meeting since 10 May in Algeria to work out measures that are likely to bring an end to the violence in northern Mali.

#### **Former Student Leader Held, Later Released**

*AB1405133194 Paris AFP in French 1900 GMT  
12 May 94*

[Text] Bamako, 12 May (AFP)—Oumar Mariko, the former leader of the Association of Malian Students and Pupils, [AEEM] who was expatriated on 12 May from Cote d'Ivoire 24 hours after his arrest in Abidjan, has disclosed that he was arrested by gendarmes on his arrival in Bamako, but was then released a few hours later. He told the Malian press that he was not questioned at the Bamako gendarmerie, where he was taken.

Reliable police sources in Abidjan disclosed that the former AEEM leader left Abidjan aboard an aircraft from the Air Transport and Liaison Group, a national company.

Mr. Mariko disclosed that he was questioned in Abidjan on his meetings with opposition leaders and Ivorian students. No legal action is being taken against him in Mali. He arrived in Cote d'Ivoire on 10 May on his way from Ouagadougou, where he had been staying for a week as part of a tour aimed at establishing "a leftist African youth organization."

For two years now, the AEEM, which is backed by several Malian opposition parties, has been at the root of violent demonstrations against President Alpha Oumar Konare's government. The association is contesting the new criteria for the allocation of student grants, which henceforth will be based on examination results.

AEEM has 500,000 members, and was at the root of the March 1991 demonstrations, which led to the ousting of Former Malian President Moussa Traore.

### **Niger**

#### **Media Workers Demand Release of Arrested Customs Workers**

*AB1405154794 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 13 May 94*

[Communique from the Niger Media Workers' Union Executive Council; place and date not given]

[Text] We have learned with dismay and indignation of the arrest of four fellow members of the Customs Workers' Union [SNAD], including the union's secretary general, who

is also the financial secretary for the Federation of Labor Unions of Niger. On behalf of all state media workers, the national executive council denounces this action, which does not foster a social climate conducive to the spirit of partnership. It demands the unconditional release of the SNAD workers and urges the government to show better judgment in the search for a solution to workers' problems.

#### **Customs Workers Released 15 May**

*AB1505184694 Paris AFP in French 1254 GMT  
15 May 94*

[Text] Niamey, 15 May (AFP)—Union sources have disclosed that the four officials of the Customs Workers Union [SNAD], including Secretary General Ibro Ayoubou, arrested on 11 May were released today. The four officials were arrested by the gendarmes in Niamey for "interfering with the freedom to work."

No reason was given for the officials' release. However, SNAD had decided to withdraw its notice for a five-day strike as of 16 May in order to have the officials released.

#### **Armed Opposition Demands Institution of Federal System**

*AB1405154094 Paris AFP in French 1851 GMT  
12 May 94*

[Text] Lagos, 12 May (AFP)—The armed opposition Democratic Front for Renewal [FDR], in a communique released here yesterday, has called for the institution in Niger of a federal system that will bring together all Nigerois. The FDR said that it has "undertaken to resolutely pursue the political and military struggle until all vestiges of this disastrous system—the present system in Niger—have been completely stamped out." The communique, which was signed by Mamane Kodelami Ali, a representative of this movement, adds: "With the advent of the ruling Alliance of Forces of Change, which supports President Mahamane Ousmane, the people of Niger are seeing their hopes crumble like a house of cards."

The FDR, which is based in the Lake Chad region, accused the present regime of "corruption, favoritism, lies, wastage, and the deliberate alteration of democracy." The FDR's program proposes to cut up Niger into regions, with a federal status in conformity with the geographical and social realities, in order to ensure stability in the country.

### **Nigeria**

#### **Constitutional Conference Agenda Deliberations Completed**

*AB1505164294 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 15 May 94*

[Text] The National Constitutional Conference Commission has completed its deliberations on the agenda for the conference. A clean copy of the agenda will be ready this week for submission to the government. The chairman of the publicity committee of the commission,

Dr. (Wota Ofonagoro), gave this information yesterday in the Radio Nigeria Network phoning program, Radio Link. He said all the views expressed in the memoranda by interest groups and individuals had been taken care of in the agenda. Answering a question, Dr. (Ofonagoro), said memoranda were received from traditional rulers, articulating what their role should be. He stated that the commission would recommend that some of them should be nominated to present their views at the conference.

Also answering a question, the chairman of the finance and general purposes committee of the commission, Chief (Derbo Akonde), said the military would be a subject on the agenda. He said that the military would not be represented at the conference to avoid creating the impression that they were there to guide the delegates. Chief (Akonde), however, explained that the commission, in its recommendation and the government in accepting it, did not completely leave out the military. He said it was possible that some retired military officers would be elected into the conference.

### Senegal

#### Iran Said Financing Islamic Fundamentalist Movements

NC1505162394 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1540 GMT 15 May 94

[Text] Dakar, 15 May (MENA)—Senegalese press reports say the Iranian Embassy in Dakar is involved in financing some Islamic fundamentalist movements in Senegal. This has prompted the Senegalese authorities to ask Iran to withdraw its ambassador from Dakar as soon as possible. However, official Senegalese sources have declined to comment on these reports.

Observers believe the Senegalese Government is trying to deal with the situation calmly to avoid any complications that might compromise Senegalese-Iranian relations.

### Sierra Leone

#### Government Releases Names of Arrested Former Officials

AB1505150794 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 14 May 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Government of Sierra Leone yesterday published the names of former cabinet ministers and others rounded up and detained a week ago. Speculation at the time of their arrest said that they had been picked up for failure to repay to public funds huge sums of money which commissions of inquiry had found them guilty of obtaining through corrupt practices. From Freetown, Victor Sylver telexed this report.

The Sierra Leonean Government has now published 19 names as those recently arrested and detained at Pademba Road maximum security prison in Freetown. All but two of the detainees are former ministers or deputy ministers in the government of ex-President Joseph Momoh. The 17 politicians include two women: (Emeckley Simbo) and Matilda Conteh, both former deputy ministers. Others include former Foreign Minister Abdul Karim Koroma, former Development Minister Sheku Kanu, former Transport and Communication Minister Michael Abdulai, and the former minister for party affairs. The two nonpoliticians detained are Mohamed Bangura, a businessman, and the former head of the Sierra Leone Fire Brigade, Allassan Kamara. All 19 were picked up by the police after an announcement from the government last Saturday [7 May] morning that while some of those asked to refund various sums to the government had done so, others have not. Three commissions of inquiry into corruption found they had stolen these funds from the government.

#### Nigerian Official Clarifies Return of Citizens

AB1505163694 Freetown SLBS Radio in English 2000 GMT 13 May 94

[Summary from poor reception] "The Nigerian high commissioner in Freetown has expressed concern" over a broadcast which said that "Nigeria has evacuated 5,000 of its nationals with another 2,000 awaiting evacuation." In a release issued in Freetown, the high commissioner gave the assurance that the "BBC broadcast in question, was completely inaccurate." He said that there are 50,000 Nigerians in Sierra Leone and that the repatriation of a handful should not be a matter for radio broadcast. He said there were "42 families of women and children who were flown back to Nigeria on Tuesday" [10 May]. They were flown back as "foreigners who had lost their homes and means of livelihood" as result of rebel activities in an area. The high commissioner assured all that he "would do his utmost to see to the welfare of his nationals."

### Togo

#### Government Postpones Parliamentary By-Elections

AB1505181794 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 15 May 94

[From the "African news"]

[Text] Voting scheduled for today in the three parliamentary by-elections in Togo has been postponed. An official announcement gave no reason for the postponement but said the elections would be held as soon as circumstances permitted. Reports say the technical preparations have not been completed, and there has been no campaigning. Opposition parties were declared the winners in the three constituencies in the elections last February, but the Supreme Court has ordered a revote.

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